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duties throughout the ceremony. Each had a special place in the lodge, and was the recipient of peculiar benefits supposed to be derived from the ceremony. 796*

The Father was usually a chief, or a man prominent in the tribe, who not only had accumulated property, but had a large following of relatives who could contribute to the store of articles required for these rites. The tribal standing of the Son was always equal to that of the Father. [556 554]

The Father selected a man from among those who had been taught the rites and ritual songs to take charge of the ceremony from beginning to end. Such a man was called Ku'rahus, and to him the entire party was required to yield obedience in every particular. The Ku'rahus chose an assistant, and also took with him a third person, a sort of acolyte, to whom he was teaching the rites.

If the Father was a chief, then he had to invite one other chief to be of his party, to act as substitute whenever he was obliged to be absent from his post of duty. If, however, the Father was not himself a chief, then it became necessary for him to secure the attendance of two chiefs, one to act as substitute for the other, as the constant presence of a chief was required throughout the ceremony. 796* 622

The priest who had charge of the shrine sacred to rain was also of the Father's party. It was his duty to furnish the pipe and conduct the ceremony of offering smoke to Tira'wa. The Father's party also included two doctors, men who had received a knowledge of healing plants, either directly through visions or by initiation into certain rites by which this knowledge was communicated. Each was required to bring an eagle's wing, one the right wing and the other the left. The wing of the eagle is the official mark of a doctor. The Father must also secure a number of singers, whose duty it was to carry the drum and act as a choir to accompany the Ku'rahus, who always led the singing. The rest of the party of the Father was made up of his kindred, with such of his friends as might desire to contribute to the required food and gifts and thus to become entitled to share in the return gifts made to the Fathers by the Children. 796* [793] [791 237] [533]* [602]

The preliminary ceremonies (the first three rituals) took place at the lodge of the Father, and from it the party of the Fathers started on its journey.

REQUISITES OF THE CEREMONY AND THEIR SYMBOLISM

The objects peculiar to this ceremony were two feathered stems about a meter in length, made of ash wood. They were rounded and smoothed, and the pith was burned out to leave an opening for the breath to pass, as through a pipestem. One of these stems was named Raha'katittu, from ra, the, this one; hawhak, a part of the word hakkow, breathing mouth of wood, the k being dropped for euphony (see translation of hawkowpirus, drum, page 17); katit, dark, 796* 192 778

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brown, or black; tu-ruru, moving, the change of the r to t being for euphony. The translation of the whole word would be, the breathing mouth of wood with the dark moving feathers. The other stem was named Hahak'takaru, from ra, the, this one; hak, from hakkow, breathing mouth of wood; taka, white; ru, from ruru, moving or swaying. The translation of the whole word would be, the breathing mouth of wood with the white moving or waving feathers.

Associated with these two feathered stems, and sharing with them the prominent place in the rites, was an ear of white corn. In addition there were required two small, round, straight sticks from the plum tree; a crotched stick, also of the plum tree; feathers from the tail of an owl and from the wings and tail of an eagle; two entire wings of an eagle; the heads of two woodpeckers; the head, neck, and breast of two ducks; a wildcat skin; a shell; two wooden bowls; a braid of buffalo hair; a braid of sweet grass; blue, green, and red clay; fat from a deer or buffalo, the animal having been consecrated; the nest of an oriole.

The clays, the fat, and the oriole's nest were furnished by the Ku'rahus. The nest was kept in secret and not allowed to be seen. All the articles except those furnished by the Ku'rahus were provided by the Father. Besides these he had to secure robes, ornamented garments, and regalia for the ceremonial clothing of the Son, his messenger, and his little child; also gifts to be bestowed on the entire party of the Children. He was assisted by contributions from the relatives and friends who had agreed to share with him the responsibilities and the rewards attending this ceremony. Food for the entertainment of the Children as well as for the maintenance of the Fathers during their absence from home had also to be provided.

It was the duty of the Son, the leader of the group called the Children, to provide a spacious lodge wherein the ceremony could take place, and also a proper camping site for all who accompanied the Fathers. He had also to secure the requisite return gifts to be made to the Fathers.

Each of the articles used in the ceremony had a general symbolism well known to the people, but their special significance was peculiar to these rites.

The feathered stem Haha'katittu (plate LXXXVI, page 38) was painted blue to symbolize the sky, the abode of Tira'wahut, the circle of the lesser powers. A long straight groove running its length was painted red, the symbol of life. The red groove was the path along which the spirits of the various birds traveled on their way to bring help.

Three split feathers from an eagle's wing were fastened to the stem as to an arrow, to give sure flight to the symbol-freighted stem. On it was tied the fan-shaped pendant of ten feathers from the mature brown or golden eagle. This eagle was called Kawas in the Hako ceremony. It represented the mother and led in certain of the rites. It is this feathered stem that was carried by the Ku'rahus. This eagle

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is consecrated to the powers; it soars near their abode and is a medium of communication between them and man.

The woodpecker's head was fastened near the mouthpiece end of the feathered stem, the upper mandible turned back over the red crest and painted blue. This treatment of the upper mandible had a double significance. The red crest, which rises when the bird is angry, was here held down; it must not rise. The blue paint represented the clear, cloudless sky. The woodpecker has the favor of the storm gods and can avert from man the disaster of tempest and of lightning. The owl feathers were tied near the middle of the feathered stem. This bird has power to help and protect during the night. Soft blue feathers were fastened around the mouthpiece end. These blue feathers symbolized the clear sky, and it is this end which was always upward toward the abode of the powers.

The other end of the stem was thrust through the breast, neck, and mandibles of the duck. It was by this end that the feathered stem was held. The duck is familiar with the pathless air and water and is also at home on the land, knowing its streams and springs. It is the unerring guide.

The red and white streamers represented the sun and the moon, day and night. These were made of red cloth and dyed horsehair and white cotton cord, but it is said that formerly soft deerskin strips painted red and twisted hair from the white rabbit were used.

The other feathered stem, Itahak'takaru (plate LXXXVII, page 400), differed from the first feathered stem already described in two particulars, namely, it was painted green, to symbolize the earth, and the fan-shaped pendant was made of seven tall feathers from the white eagle (the young brown or golden eagle; see page 288). This eagle was not consecrated. It represented the male, the father, the warrior, and the defender. This feathered stem was carried by the Ku'rahus's assistant, and it was never allowed to be next to the children; its place was always on the outside. There, it was explained, it could do no harm, could rouse no contention, but would serve to protect and defend.

I have many times remarked the reverence felt toward the feathered stems. Their sacred character seemed always to be remembered and they were never handled carelessly. During the entire time that I was engaged with Tahirûsawichi on this ceremony he never allowed the feathered stems to be placed on the floor or laid on a chair; they were always carefully deposited on the wildcat skin with a decorum that was not once abated. I have seen manifested among the tribes not only reverence toward these sacred symbols, but an affection that was not displayed toward any other objects. Few persons ever spoke to me of them without a brightening of the eyes. "They make us happy," was a common saying.

They were preserved intact and passed from tribe to tribe as long as they held together, and they were sometimes freshened and

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repaired. This transfer of the feathered stems from tribe to tribe tended to preserve the model unchanged. Sometimes the Son did not care to part with the feathered stems left with him, so when he inaugurated a party and was to be the Father he had a new set made. It was a matter of pride with some not to use again feathered stems that had once seen service.

The ear of white corn (plate LXXXVIII, page 44), called Atira, Mother,[a] represented the fruitfulness of the earth. The tip end was painted blue to represent the dome of the sky, the dwelling place of the powers, and four blue equidistant lines, running halfway down the ear, were the four paths along which the powers descended to minister to man.

The two straight sticks cut from the plum tree were bound to the ear of corn by a braid of buffalo hair. One stick projected above the tip of the ear about a hand's breadth, and the other extended about the same length below the butt; the lower end of this stick was pointed so that it could be thrust into the ground to hold the ear of corn in an upright position. To the other stick was tied a white, downy eagle feather. This feather had a double significance: It represented the high, white clouds that float near the dome of the sky where the powers dwell, thus indicating their presence with the corn. It also stood for the tassel of the cornstalk. The feather here refers to the male principle, the corn to the female. The plum-tree wood was chosen for the sticks because the tree is prolific of fruit. It symbolized a prayer for abundance.

The braid of buffalo hair represented the animal which supplied food and clothing for the people.

The two gourd rattles (plate LXXXIX, page 46) represented the gift of the squash to man and the breast of the mother. Around the middle of each a blue circle was painted from which depended four equidistant lines of the same color. The circle represented the base of the dome of the sky, and the four lines the four paths descending therefrom to earth.

The crotched stick (plate XC, page 48) used to support one end of the feathered stems when they were laid at ceremonial rest was significant of the fork in the tree where the eagle builds its nest. The use of the plum tree for this crotched stick expressed the desire for many young in the nest.

The sacred ointment with which the plum-tree sticks were anointed was made from the fat of the deer or buffalo mixed with red clay. The fat was taken from an animal that had been consecrated through certain prescribed rites which recognized man's dependence upon the powers for the gift of food. Fat symbolized plenty. Ritual songs speak of paths dropping fatness, referring to the trails made by those who carried the dressed meat from the hunting fields to the camp; such

[a] The common term for corn, sakus, was not used in the ceremony.

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a path would be strewn with drops of fat. Red is the color typical of life. The ointment signified a prayer for abundance and life.

The wildcat skin (plate XC, page 48) served as a covering for those objects when they were to be wrapped up and it was always spread on the ground for them to rest on.

The significance of the wildcat in this ceremony is of peculiar interest. This animal, we are told, never misses his prey, never fails to attain the object of his pursuit, and accomplishes this end quietly, tactfully, without arousing antagonism. From conversations with the Ku'rahus it became clear that it was these qualities and not the savageness and stealthy cruelty of the animal that were to be kept in mind. To be able to accomplish a purpose without offending, without raising opposition, seems to have been regarded as the special attribute vouchsafed by Tira'wa to the wildcat. It is because of this attribute that it was chosen to be always with the sacred objects during this ceremony. The sacred objects symbolized not only an appeal from man to certain powers, but the presence of the powers themselves, while the nature of the appeal, a desire for children, long life, and plenty, was such that the enjoyment of the benefits craved must depend largely on the successful exercise by man of those qualities which were regarded as characteristic of the wildcat. So the skin of the wildcat was the cover of the sacred objects when they were wrapped up; it was spread on the ground as their guard and support when they were laid at ceremonial rest, and when they were carried about the lodge during the ceremony it was borne by the chief, who walked between the Kurahus and his assistant, each of whom held a feathered stem.

Only a chief could carry the wildcat skin and the ear of corn. Therefore, if the Father was not himself a chief he had to secure the service of one in order that the wildcat could be borne by a man possessing the authority of a ruler in the tribe. As the wildcat stood for the ability to accomplish a purpose with tact and without exciting opposition, qualities essential to the successful ruler, it would seem that the imperative association of the wildcat with a chief was intended to convey the idea that only under the administration of such a man could the tribe have internal peace and enjoy the abundance and prosperity represented by Mother Corn.

As every article belonging to the ceremony and the position and movements of those who conducted the rites had a special significance, the position given to the wildcat, as explained by the Kurahus, reveals the mind of the native in regard to this animal, which figures conspicuously in other rites and ceremonies, and which controls one of the sacred shrines of the Chaui band of the Pawnee tribe.

TIME OF THE CEREMONY

There was no stated time for the performance of the Hako ceremony. It was not connected with planting or harvesting, hunting, or war, or any tribal festival. The Ku'rahus said, "We take up the Hako in

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*539 which the lesser powers must travel when they descend to bring help
772 to man.

776 In this stanza, we remember the power given by Tira'wa to the
*796 Winds, and we cry to Hotoru to come and give their help to us at this time, to give life to the sacred articles about to be prepared for the ceremony of the Hako.

I'hare, 'hare 'ahe means, as we sing it this time, that we are reflecting upon Hotoru, we are thinking of all that they bring to man, the breath by which he lives.

The Winds are always near us by night and by day.

Translation of Third Stanza

*539 11, 12, 13 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.
14 Heru! Shakuru. He!
*796 heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.
[193] Shakuru, the Sun. This word is not used in ordinary speech; it refers to the supernatural power, the Sun, in its relation to man. The common term for sun is ti'rasakariki, sun standing.
he! part of i'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.
15 See the first stanza, line 2. The words in this line have special reference to the mind dwelling seriously upon Shakuru.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Shakuru, the Sun, is the first of the visible powers to be mentioned.
[776 It is very potent; it gives man health, vitality, and strength. Because
821] of its power to make things grow, Shakuru is sometimes spoken of as atius, father. The Sun comes direct from the mighty power above; that gives it its great potency.

As we sing this stanza, we think of all that the Sun can do for us and we cry to it, to come now and give potentiality to the sacred articles about to be made ready for use in this ceremony.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

16, 17, 18 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.
19 Heru! Ii'Ururu. He!
heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.
h', the sign of breath; "breathing life."
[195 Ururu, the Earth. This term is not used in ordinary speech; the common name for the earth is kahororu. Ii'Ururu refers
•778] to the supernatural power that belongs to the earth, the power to bring forth.
he! part of i'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.
20 See the first stanza, line 2. In the last line of the stanza the word i'hare implies reflection: "We reflect on Ii'Ururu!"

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Explanation by the Ku'rahus

H'Uraru, the Earth, is the lesser power we cry to next. The Earth is very near to man; we speak of her as Atira, Mother, because she brings forth. From the Earth we get our food; we lie down on her; we live and walk on her; we could not exist without her, as we could not breathe without Hoturu (the Winds) or grow without Shakuru (the Sun). 539* 796* [776]

Mother Earth is very potent to help man and now we cry to her to come near and give potentiality to the sacred articles we are about to prepare.

We reverently reflect upon all that Mother Earth does for us.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

21, 22, 23 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

24 Heru! Toharu. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

Toharu, the living covering of the earth, no special form being indicated; a general term for vegetation, but implying the supernatural power manifested therein. Katoha'ru, trees. [778]

he! part of l'haro! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.

25 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Toharu!"

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Toharu means all the things that Mother Earth brings forth (all forms of vegetation); these are many. They are very necessary to man and they bring him much help. They too are lesser powers, though not so potent as some of the others. From them we get our food; from them comes the grass upon which the animals feed—the animals which supply clothing and food; from them come the trees which are very necessary to us. They have a part in this ceremony. 539* 796* 824

As we sing we think upon all that Toharu gives us and we cry to this power to come near, for without the help of Toharu some of the sacred articles required for this ceremony could not be obtained.

At this stanza the two men who have been selected to cut the two sticks of ash arise and go out of the lodge to perform this duty. The ash tree has been chosen beforehand, but the two men must cut the sticks when they go out at this time.

We stop between the stanzas of the song that this act may be performed.

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Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

The first act of a man must be to set apart a place that can be made sacred and holy, that can be consecrated to Tira'wa; a place where a man can be quiet and think—think about the mighty power and the place where the lesser powers dwell; a place where a man can put his sacred articles, those objects which enable him to approach the powers. Kusharu means such a place.

In this stanza we are taught that before a man can build a dwelling he must select a spot and make it sacred and then, about that consecrated spot, he can erect a dwelling where his family can live peaceably. Kusharu represents the place where a man can seek the powers and where the powers can come near to man. Such a place is necessary for all ceremonies.

We are now to set aside a place where we shall put the sacred articles we are to prepare and make it holy. We are not only thinking of the holy place where we shall lay the sacred articles, but we think of all that holy place will mean. It will represent the place where new life will be given.

Translation of Eighth Stanza

36, 37, 38 See lines 1, 2, 3.
39 Heru! Il' Akaru. He!
heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.
Il', the sign of breath, the giving of life.
Akaru, a modified form of akaru, a dwelling place; the earth lodge with its dome-shaped roof is likened to the stretch of land bounded by the horizon and roofed by the dome of the sky.
he! part of I'hare! give heed! See line 4.
40 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Il' Akaru!"

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

In this stanza we are told to think of the dwelling place Tira'wa has given to man. Upon this place man must build a lodge in accordance with the rites given to our fathers. It is by the observance of these rites in the building of a lodge that life is given to the dwelling and it is made a place where the lesser powers can come to those who dwell therein. Il' Akaru means the giving of life to the dwelling place.

Translation of Ninth Stanza

41, 42, 43 See lines 1, 2, 3.
44 Heru! Keharu. He!
heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.
Keharu, an enclosure, as a room, having walls and roof, like an earth lodge. The word does not refer to any enclosure or lodge, but is typical in its meaning.
he! part of I'hare! give heed! See line 4.
45 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Keharu!"

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Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 As we sing this stanza we think of the lodge erected about the holy place in accordance with the rites given to our fathers upon the earth, which Tirawa made to be our dwelling place.

778 In such a lodge this ceremony must take place, and as we sing we ask that the lodge in which we are assembled to prepare the sacred articles may be kept free from all hurtful influences and that the lesser powers which bring life and strength may come near us as we sit within.

We also think of the lodge to which we will go for the further performance of this ceremony, for we desire that the presence of the lesser powers may be there also.

In this ceremony the lodge represents the nest, the place where the young are enclosed. They are protected by the male; the male eagle guards his nest; within its walls there is safety.

Translation of Tenth Stanza

*539 46, 47, 48 See lines 1, 2, 3.

*796 49 Heru! Kataharu. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.

Kataharu, part of the word itkataharu, fireplace. The dropping of the initial syllable, it, changes the meaning; the word here refers to the place where fire is to be kindled in the sacred manner for the performance of sacred rites.

he! part of ihare! give heed! See line 4.

50 See lines 2 and 30. "We reflect on Kataharu!"

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 372 778 As we sing this stanza we think of the place set apart for the kindling of fire after the manner taught our fathers, by rubbing two sticks together. Fire kindled in this way is sacred; it comes direct from the power granted to Tolaru (Vegetation), in answer to man's appeal as he rubs the sticks. The sticks used to make this fire are kept in a shrine.

The sacred fire must come in a place set apart for it. All sacred things must have their place. Kataharu is the place set apart for the sacred fire, where it can come and bring good to man; without it he could hardly live. We make the fire in the center of the lodge, where all within can share in its benefits.

*539 *796 As I told you, the lodge in this ceremony represents the nest where the young are cared for and protected. The male eagle protects the nest, the female eagle broods over it, and there she nourishes her young. As we are asking for the gift of children to bind the people together as one family, so we sing about the fireplace, that fire may come as we prepare the sacred articles.

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Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 In this ceremony the brown eagle is called Kawas. This eagle has been made holy by being sacrificed to Tira'wa. Its feathers are tied upon the stem that has been painted blue to represent the sky.

778 782 This stem was the first one painted and decorated, because it is female and the leader. It represents the night, the moon, the north, and stands for kindness and helpfulness. It will take care of the people. It is the mother.

Throughout the ceremony the Ku'rahus carries this feathered stem.

After the Kawas stem is prepared the Ku'rahus hands it back to the man on his left, toward the north, to hold while he prepares a pendant of seven tail feathers from the white eagle. Then he takes from the man on his right, toward the south, the stem which had been painted green and ties on it this white-eagle pendant.

No song is sung while this is being done. The white eagle is not holy; it has not been sacrificed to Tira'wa. It has less power than Kawas; it is inclined to war, to hurt some one. It can not lead; it must follow. So the green stem is painted last, and all the decorations are put upon it after the other stem is completed.

This feathered green stem represents the male, the day, the sun, and the south. During the ceremony it is carried by the assistant of the Ku'rahus, whose place is on the right of the Ku'rahus, toward the south.

When we move about the lodge waving the two feathered stems to the rhythm of the song we are singing, Kawas, the brown eagle, is carried next the people, and the white-eagle stem on the farther side, away from the people, where it can do good by defending them and keeping away all harm. If it were carried next the children it would bring them war and trouble. It is the brown eagle that is always kept near the people and is waved over their heads to bring them the gifts of plenty and of peace.

The red and white streamers tied upon the two stems represent the sun and the moon.

While the Ku'rahus still has the sacred ointment upon his hands he anoints a crotched stick and two straight sticks, all three of which have been carefully scraped and smoothed. These sticks were cut from a plum tree, because this tree is prolific in bearing fruit.

PART III. PAINTING THE EAR OF CORN AND PREPARING THE OTHER SACRED OBJECTS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The Ku'rahus now mixes in a round wooden bowl blue clay with water taken from a running stream and paints with it an ear of white corn, in the way our fathers were taught to do. During this act the following song is sung.

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782 glad Mother Corn is here leading us, and the wildcat goes with the
Hako." But the man who killed it said: "No, this skin will not go
794 with the Hako! I am going to take it to the priest for sacrifice that
825 I may learn some of the mysteries." But he did wrong and suffered
for it, because that wildcat belonged with the Hako, for it was killed
while we were being led by Mother Corn.

*796 The sacred articles having been completed are now laid at ceremonial rest. The wildcat skin is spread upon the earth in the holy place, which is in the west part of the lodge opposite the entrance, a little way back from the fireplace. The head of the skin is placed toward the east; the crotched plum-tree stick is thrust into the ground close to the head; the two feathered stems are laid in the crotch, the brown-eagle stem first, then the white-eagle stem on the top or outside. The eagle builds its nest in the crotch of a tree, so these eagle-feathered stems are laid in the crotch of the plum-tree stick. The ends which are thrust through the duck's head rest upon the wildcat, and under the wing-like pendants the gourd rattles are placed. Directly in front of the crotched stick stands Mother Corn.

PART IV. OFFERING OF SMOKE

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 The time has now come for the offering of smoke to Tira'wa.
The priest of the Rain shrine must be present with the pipe belong-
793 ing to that shrine and he must conduct the ceremony. After he has
789 filled the pipe with native tobacco the Ku'rahus tells the people that
the time has come to offer smoke to Tira'wa, the father and the giver
of all things. He selects from the company a man to act as pipe
bearer during the ceremony of offering smoke. The pipe bearer must
be one who has made sacrifices at the sacred tents where the shrines
are kept and has been annointed, and who in consequence has been
prospered in his undertakings. The prayers of such a man are
thought to be more acceptable to the powers than those of a man who
has never made sacrifices.

276 In old times men did not smoke for pleasure as they do now, but
only in religious ceremonies. The white people have taught the
Pawnees to profane the use of tobacco.

778 Each of the sacred shrines of the tribe has a pipe, and its priest
793 knows the proper order in which the pipe should be offered to Tira'-
wahut. I am not a priest, so I do not know the order in which the
Rain pipe is offered, nor can I tell you the ceremony; the knowledge
of that belongs to its priest and not to me.

*796 Up to this point (the conclusion of the ceremony of smoking) all
the people present have been obliged to remain quiet in their places;
now they are at liberty to move about or to leave the lodge.

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are not moving at random, but in a prescribed manner, which the Ku'rahus has been taught and directed to follow; that they are led by Mother Corn authorized by the powers, and to her they must give unquestioning obedience throughout the ceremony. 539* 796*

After this song the Ku'rahus and the other bearers of the sacred objects turn, and facing the east, pass on in front of the people, who also turn and follow as they go forth on the journey.

The three songs we have just sung are in sequence. Their order can not be changed; they belong to the beginning of the journey, and teach us to obey Mother Corn.

Part II. Songs and Ceremonies of the Way

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The journey we are taking is for a sacred purpose, and as we are led by the supernatural power in Mother Corn we must address with song every object we meet, because Tira'wa is in all things. Everything we come to as we travel can give us help, and send help by us to the Children.

Trees are among the lesser powers, and they are represented on the Hako which we carry, so when we see trees we must sing to them. [824 778]

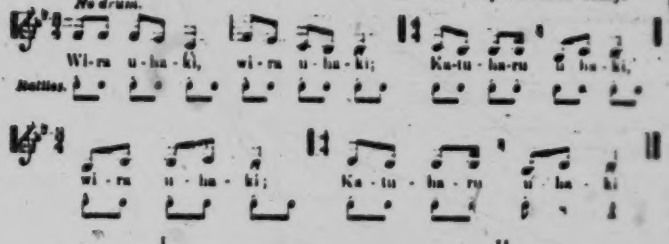
Trees grow along the banks of the streams; we can see them at a distance, like a long line, and we can see the river glistening in the sunlight in its length. We sing to the river, and when we come nearer and see the water and hear it rippling, then we sing to the water, the water that ripples as it runs.

Song to the Trees and Streams

Words and Music

M. M. ♩ = 112.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
No drum.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy. [533*]



I

236 Wira uhaki, wira uhaki:
237 Katuharu uhaki, wira uhaki;
238 Katuharu uhaki.

II

239 Wira uhaki, wira uhaki:
240 Kichaharu uhaki, wira uhaki;
241 Kichaharu uhaki.

III

242 Wira wihaku, wira wihaku;
243 Kichaharu wihaku, wira wihaku;
244 Kichaharu wihaku.

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*539 *796 419 Hiri! Hi rata-a hao ha!
hiri! an exclamation meaning give heed! harken!
hi rata-a hao ha! See line 418.

420 See line 418.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The words of this stanza are a command to the Son. They are, "Give heed, my child; you must now send your prayers to the powers which dwell above."

This stanza is sung four times.

Then the Son takes a pinch of tobacco from the bowl of the pipe and passes it along the stem and offers it as the priest directs.

[793 778] There is a certain order to be observed in the offering of tobacco and smoke to the powers above peculiar to each of the sacred shrines, and only the priest or keeper of a shrine knows the order in which the powers which preside over his shrine should be approached. The sacred pipe belonging to the Itaiu shrine is used in this ceremony, and its priest must direct the Son how to make the offering. I do not know this order; it does not belong to me to know it.

When the pinch of tobacco has been presented to the powers above it is placed upon the earth.

After this act the second stanza is sung.

Translation of Second Stanza

421 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

422 Ti wawaka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!
ti, he.
wawaka; waka, spoken; the added wa indicates that he has spoken to those who are at a great distance.
wawa, part of tiwari, traveling from one, and towawa, traveling in many ways, to many different places.
hi, that person.
rata, my or mine.
a, vowel prolongation.
hao, child.
ha, a musical vocable.

423 See line 419.

424 See line 422.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[782] As the Son offers tobacco in the directions indicated by the priest, he prays to the powers that dwell in these directions. What he says is not audible to us, for it is not intended for us to hear.

The words of this stanza refer to the prayers of the Son.

We are bidden to take heed that the prayers of the Son, who is as our child, have been spoken and have traveled far, going on and on to the different distant places where the great powers abide which watch over the rain.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
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A holy man who lived long ago, no one knows how long, for there have been many generations since, had a dream. He was taken up to the place where all the visions dwell, those that belong to Kawas, the brown eagle, and those that belong to the white eagle, the male. While he was there the day began to dawn and he saw the visions that had been sent down to earth come climbing up, and he recognized among them some of the visions that had visited him in the past. Then he knew of a truth that all visions of every kind dwell above in Kaiasha, and that they descend thence to us in the night, and that as the day dawns they ascend, returning to rest in their dwelling place.

The holy man made this song about his dream and told its meaning, and the song and the story have been handed down to us, that we might know where visions come from, where they dwell and where they go to when they depart from us.

Among the Pawnees there are shrines, in the keeping of certain men, which contain articles that are used in the sacred ceremonies of the different bands of the tribe. These shrines are very old, they were given by the lesser powers to our fathers with a knowledge of their contents and how to use them.

An ear of corn belongs to one of these shrines. It is a peculiar ear. It is white, with perfect and straight lines of kernels, and there is a tassel on its tip. In the fall the priest of the shrine tells the women to look carefully for such ears when they gather their corn, for Tira'wa causes such ears to grow in the fields for the purposes of this shrine and they belong to it. The little tassel on the tip of the ear of corn represents the feather worn on the head of the warrior. The sacred ear of corn is sometimes borrowed from the priest by the leader of a war party. The ear of corn is born of Mother Earth, she knows all places and the acts of all men who walk the earth, so she is a leader.

Sometimes a young man who proposed going to war would request the following song to be sung. He desired success and wished Mother Corn to lead him. After the Hako ceremony was over he would borrow a sacred ear of corn and put it in a pack which the leader of the war party would sling upon his back. When the party was successful, he would thrust into the ground the stick upon which the ear of corn was tied and as this ear stood before him he would give thanks to it for having led him in safety.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FOURTH DIVISION. PRESENTATION OF THE HAKO

TWENTIETH RITUAL.

PART I. BLESSING THE CHILD

At the close of the dance and the reception of gifts by the Fathers, the little child was again taken to the holy place and once more touched with the Hako upon all sides, from the east, the south, the west, and the north. 796*

The song accompanying these movements was "a prayer to call down the breath of Tirú'wa" upon the child that had been consecrated. [782]

SONG.

Diagram of Time 533*

" " 796*

" "

Rythmic Rendition 539*

Breathe on him! 796*
Breathe on him!
Life thou alone canst give to him.
Long life, we pray, Oh Father, give unto him!

PART II. PRESENTING THE HAKO TO THE SON AND THANKS TO THE CHILDREN

The Father (the chief) then removed the emblems from the face of the child, using for the purpose the fur of the wildcat, and took the covering and the symbols from its head. These with the Hako he rolled together within the wildcat skin and placed the bundle in the arms of the child. 796*

The Hako, which had been the medium of bringing the promises, was carried by the recipient of these promises, the little child, to its father, the Son, who received them from the hands of his offspring.

The tie had now been formed, and the little child was released from its symbolic duties and ran out into the sunlight to join its playmates. Within the lodge the Fathers thanked the Children, and the people departed to their daily avocations.

While the various articles of the Hako were generally scattered at the close of the ceremony, the two feathered stems were preserved intact and frequently passed from tribe to tribe as long as they held together. Sometimes the Son was unwilling to part with those presented him, so, when he inaugurated a party, he had a new set made with the proper ceremony. At all times and under all conditions the feathered stems were never handled carelessly, but were treated with respect and their sacred character was remembered. During the entire time Tahi'rúsawichi was engaged upon this ceremony he never allowed 778 796* [439]

* Made on p. 796

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

the feathered stems to be placed on the floor or laid upon a chair; they were always carefully deposited on the wildcat skin with a decorum that was not once abated.

The Hako ceremony seems to have been peculiarly adapted to impress the mind of the people and to win their confidence and affection. It was picturesque, varied in movement, and communal in feeling. Its songs were rhythmic and attractive, and frequently choral in form, particularly those belonging to the public ceremony, where all, young and old, joined in the melody as the feathered stems were swayed over their heads when the Ku'rahus and his assistants made the circuits of the lodge.

The teachings of the public ceremony were general in character. They emphasized, on the one hand, man's dependence on the supernatural for all the gifts of life, and on the other hand, his dependence on the family tie for the gifts of peace and happiness. The specific teachings were reserved for the Son. These began in the ritual to the Dawn (tenth ritual) on the morning of the second and third days, which prefigured the secret ceremonies of the fifth morning, when the bond of the family relation was extended beyond blood kinship through the symbolic rites which recognized the common source of life in Tira'wa atius.

Looking over the entire ceremony, it is interesting to note how older rites have had their share in the development of the Hako, and how the trend of thought among the native seers has borne them toward a conception of the brotherhood of man, a conception recognized as the noblest known to the human family.

INCIDENTAL RITUALS

COMFORTING THE CHILD

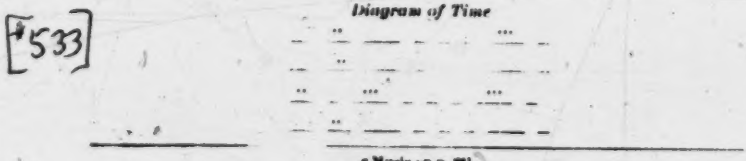
The incidental rituals could be called for and given during the public ceremony.

The three songs which belong to the first ritual have a common musical motive, but this motive is treated differently in each song so as to conform to the movement of the ceremony.

The appeal of the parents to the Ku'rahus is in the first song passed on to Kawas. It is sung by the Ku'rahus at the holy place as he waves the brown-eagle feathered stem. The words are in the nature of a prayer, the music has the swing of a lullaby.

FIRST SONG.*

Diagram of Time



* Music on p. 391.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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668 796 825 down." Joseph Long had crow feathers. He put them on his head. Then he got up like a crow, and danced around the tipi. Imitating the crow, he danced his way outside and went along the path by which the woman had gone through the timber, and found the strap. He picked it up and brought it back into the tipi, and the woman took her strap.

The relation of this crow-concept to the Ghost Dancing is direct. The crow feather (as also the eagle) is one of the objects used by leaders, as they dance inside the circle, for hypnotizing subjects. It is moved back and forth directly before the eyes of the subject. It helps the dancer to fall into a trance, and this means that it helps the subject to see or find his lost relatives. In the trance-vision itself the bird may guide the visionary to his dear ones. In the same way the old Indian customs, the dances, the songs, the rituals, are found among the deceased people, or recovered in trance visions which are induced in part through the instrumentality of the birds.

In this early use of eagle and crow, those who learned about one or the other bird wore a feather of that bird. There was no organization or orientation of these except for White's seven crow singers. But there came to be felt an opposition between crow and eagle, analogous to the actions of the birds themselves, and this was carried over into the sides of the hand game arrangements. The opposition involved the question of which was abler or luckier in finding things.

668 796 [346] [554] [778] [276] For the Ghost Dance, White arranged to have a large cleared dancing ground. West of this was set up a special tipi. Herein White gathered the people, particularly the leaders. Those who gathered inside the tent were only men. The old men sat near the eastern entranceway on both sides, with the chiefs next to them to the west, and then the braves[1]; while other men present sat about anywhere. White himself would sit with his seven crow leaders at the west facing east. The only sacred objects kept on a covering at the western altar-place were the feathers and paints of the leaders, and several pipes (two or four). Two men were selected by White and the chiefs to act as tarutsius ("fire-tenders") and at the same time as policemen. They carried long sticks to whip the dogs with, driving them away from the dance ground while the dancing went on. They also controlled the dancers. After all the men had gathered, a smoke offering initiated the performance. White gave pipes to two or four chiefs and told them step by step what to do. The performance could begin either in the

[1] These are generic Pawnee patterns.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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spread at the sacred altar place at the west, and on this the pipes were laid, mouthpiece to the east. There was nothing else on the altar place. There was an alternative to replacing the pipes on the altar inside the tipi. The four men who smoked could stand at the east of the clearing holding pipes with their arms folded, while the singing and Ghost Dancing went on. These four men did not participate in the dancing.

If the smoke was in the morning, the row of men would be at the west facing east, all the smokers would start their circuits from the west, and would offer the pipe down the line from south to north, but the orientation of positions at which each smoker made his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes, and motions would be identical with what has been described.

The differences between this four-fold smoke offering and that described for the South Bands above, are differences of complexity. These were based on Mrs. Washington's visions; it was her smoke-offering. The essential concepts, however, remain the same: upward for heaven, downward for the earth, westward for sunset and Christ, and two positions for the sun: eastward for the rising sun, south for noon sun. Of these heaven and earth orientations are generic for all Pawnee smoke-offerings, and the strict theory of Pawnee theologians is that they must be included in any smoke offering.[1] The offerings to Christ and the sun are two aspects of the same intention, since the sun is a messenger who carries the news of what goes on among the people on earth to those in the western land of the dead. The sun at noon is supposed to be in position to see clearly what is happening below, and to hear what is said to him.

The additional complexity of the smoke offering is particularly interesting because it is symptomatic of a tendency of Skiri religion in general as opposed to South Band religion. In other aspects of Pawnee ritualism and ceremony, while certain basic concepts of the religion are the same for Skiri and the South Bands, an enormous multiplication of specific interrelations has added great complexity to the Skiri forms. The great number of Skiri Pawnee bundles is probably a result of this tendency: Continuous differentiation of function has resulted in a subdivision of bundle powers, and the development of a specific bundle for a specific power. Among the

[1] So fundamental is this minimum of smoke offerings: upward to heaven and downward to earth, that Mark Evarts today begins to smoke a cigarette by making one puff upward and one downward, and finishes his smoke by flicking a bit of ash off as he makes a motion upward, and then another bit of ash off as he makes a motion downward before he puts the cigarette out.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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South Bands there are ancient bundles which each possess a group of functions that among the Skiri are differentiated and associated with separate bundles.

After the smoke offering, Sam Cover led the Seven Brothers in singing one or two Ghost Dance songs, without any dancing. Then the line closed around the clearing to form a circle of dancers, women came to join in, and the regular dancing began. Usually on a first evening of Ghost Dancing, only ten or twenty songs were sung. After the closing song, the general public would break up, each group of people returning to the family tipi. The Seven Brothers, the four chiefs who smoked, other chiefs, Mrs. Goodeagle, Mrs. Cover, Mrs. Washington, and some individuals who were special leaders, gathered in the main tipi of the dance. Here two old men acted as tarutsius, fire-tenders and servers. Food was brought in and set out in buckets at the east of the tipi near the door. Sam Cover then made an offering with corn before the group ate. It was a simple offering: He took some of the corn in his hands, stood behind the collected food and made inclusive arm motions (to indicate that this food was offered on behalf of all the food being partaken of), then came clockwise to the west of the fireplace where he raised the corn aloft to heaven and then placed it on the ground before him. He pressed it into the ground, rubbed his hands together and made four motions upward to heaven with both hands, touching his fingers to the corn on the ground before each motion. Then he made four similar motions towards the earth, blessed himself, walked through a circuit to his own place on the south, and sat down. All present said "Nawa" and then the food was served. The tarutsius must serve the food in a special order: first the chiefs at the west (the four smokers), then the seven brothers on the south, then old men who are seated on both sides of the entrance-way at the east, then all others present, serving them from west to east down both sides of the tipi.[1]

At this gathering the order and time of the events of the next morning were announced.

The next morning dancing began before sunrise. Two or three of the Seven Brothers went out onto the dance grounds, stood at the west facing east, and sang several Ghost Dance songs. As the people awoke and heard these they came out hurriedly to join in. As soon as four or five came, including women, all began to dance around clockwise. Gradually as the people gathered, the circle expanded. An old man walked around crying out to the people

[1] There is for every Pawnee ceremony an *order* in which those present are served; see chapter 8, pp. 220—229.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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668 787 796 doing in the beyond meant not alone to put aside the alien customs of European culture, but actively to take up again the native ways of the Indian. The Pawnee turned back to the past for values and satisfactions lacking in the present.

178 The revival of Pawnee culture which began to materialize in the years of the Ghost Dance went back for its material primarily to three sources in the old culture: the bundles and bundle rituals, the societies, and the games. The general attempt to resuscitate the aboriginal forms, supplemented and fortified by the inspirations and mandates of the visions, resulted in three types of cultural rebirth. The activities of old ceremony, performance and play were fostered; the paraphernalia were put in order, renewed, and recreated; and concepts from the old context were enshrined in symbols and facsimiles which were carried in the dance and integrated in new cultural forms.

BUNDLES AND BUNDLE RITUALS

778 796 178 The principal bundles of the Pawnee in aboriginal times were the sacred bundles,[1] often spoken of as village or band bundles, and the medicine men's bundles. The former were predominantly concerned with cosmological powers and references; the latter with the animate forms of the earth, the waters and the air (animals and trees, fish and water-creatures, birds). By 1892 sacred bundle ritual demonstrations had practically ceased; of the medicine [756] men's ceremonies, the great doctor performances of the fall had ceased in 1878, but the Doctor Dances of the spring and summer continued at irregular intervals, and such medicine men's ceremonies as the Buffalo Dance were also carried out on occasion, while the Bear Dance had died out. Resuscitation of the old bundle [764] rituals was the most difficult problem of revival and could not be fully met: a good part of the sacred rituals and paraphernalia had been buried in the grave with their final priests. There were two modes or types of occasion on which bundles were opened in aboriginal times: to demonstrate the ritual, and to renew or repair the bundle parts and contents. There is little evidence that the Pawnee succeeded in actively rehabilitating the ceremonies of the sacred bundles, but they did succeed in reconstructing the medicine men's

[1] I avoid any attempt to here catalog or describe the many bundles of the four Pawnee bands, which would of necessity be lengthy and for the most part irrelevant. The interested reader may consult Murie, Societies, pp. 549—556.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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Bear Dance, and a number of sacred bundles were opened and an attempt made to put them in physical order.

The bundles and bundle rituals were esoteric possessions and knowledge, controlled by individuals. As such their inheritance and transmission followed traditional modes, and according to the orthodox old Pawnee doctrine no revival of extinct forms was possible. The sanction of the Ghost Dance doctrines and visions was in definite conflict with old customs of transmission, and came to predominate.

In the traditional view, the knowledge and learning of an individual had to be handed down by actual instruction of the young. This was somewhat different for the two kinds of bundles, typified by the sacred bundles (with which the society bundles can be associated, as essentially derivative), and the medicine men's bundles. For the sacred bundle type the offices of ownership and priesthood were independent: A chief owned the bundle physically, and his wife took care of it. He did not necessarily know the ritual lore of the bundle. A priest controlled the ritual, demonstrated it on the proper occasions, and advised the owner of his bundle obligations. The physical bundle was ordinarily inherited directly in the male line. The ritual knowledge, however, was transmitted by the priest to his successor by means of instruction over many years. The priest usually taught a close relative (not necessarily in the male line exclusively) because of the desire to hand on his learning in his own family line. But lacking close kin of suitable temperament, the priest taught whom he pleased. For the medicine men's type of bundle, ownership and priesthood centered in the same individual. The doctor himself was owner of the physical bundle, and of its associated teachings, and officiated as his own demonstrating "priest" on ritual occasions. In the course of his life he taught a man to be his successor, and gradually turned over the ritual functions to him. The successor was usually a close relative, such as a "son" or "nephew", etc., but here too the medicine man was at liberty to instruct whom he would, and on occasion chose more distant relatives when near relations proved unwilling to attend seriously to the learning of the traditional material.

Ordinarily a man taught his successor largely by demonstration. That is, the apprentice took part in the actual demonstrations of the ritual (and the curing of the doctor) watching what went on. In the course of the procedure the master explained the detail. As the teacher found his pupil mastering phases of the activity, he turned over to the pupil such parts as were understood. In

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this way, as a rule, a man learned another's teachings in the course of many years and came to control *all* of it only if the teacher lived to be an old man. In fact the Pawnee conception was that as a man taught what he knew he gave up part of his life, and that when he had given over all his teachings, he would die. Hence the old and learned always held back something until they were ready to die. If a priest or medicine man died, what he had not taught his successor was lost. Usually when an old man knew he was on his deathbed he called his apprentice in and in dying whispers told him the essentials of what he had not as yet communicated. When upon death a medicine man's bundle was inherited only that part of the contents whose use and function were fully understood by the heir were retained: the rest was buried with the deceased medicine man. Because of the independence of owner and priest, a sacred bundle persisted in spite of the loss of part of its significance; the physical bundle survived, though it might be less and less understood with the passing generations.

Religion and ceremonialism in a primitive culture are maintained as oral tradition alone. There is always a gradual loss through cultural forgetting, and a somewhat compensatory gain through the development of new ramifications. The conditions of life of the Pawnee in the Nineteenth Century contributed to a rapid increase of the rate of cultural forgetting. This acceleration was in part due to the loss of function of the ceremonies and rituals, which made demonstrations more infrequent, and hence instruction rarer. At the same time, with loss of functional meaning there was lacking the incentive for the old men to teach and the young men to learn. But in addition, we must not overlook the increase of the death rate among the Pawnee. The learned died before their time; and those destined to carry on their teachings died at an early age. Death interfered abnormally with the traditional mode of handing on the knowledge of the ancients.

The traditional pattern of transmission involved the concept of private or personal ownership of ritual knowledge. What was lost through death was therefore lost beyond recovery. There was no sanction for carrying out any ritual, other than that the one who attempted it had learned about it from ritual predecessors.

The Ghost Dance doctrine supplemented by the Ghost Dance visions altered the general view. In a vision the subject would "see" some old way of life. He would "remember" it. His vision then became a command upon himself and others around him to carry out the old form. The non-esoteric phases of the aboriginal life could be readily revived, which in part explains the great renaissance

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right to sit near him and watch; that Bear Chief took pity on him and taught him the ceremony and songs without pay. He then told them to go to their homes, that on the morrow when they entered the lodge each one was to take his seat. They were then dismissed with the exception of Little Warchief.

"When they were alone Big Star questioned Little Warchief about the songs and asked if he knew them. Little Warchief said, 'Yes, I know the songs.' Big Star was glad of this for although he could carry on the ceremony, he was afraid that he would not be able to sing the cedar-tree songs."

(Later at the preliminary feast to set the date of the ceremony), "when all were in, Big Star said, 'You, who are sitting at the altar and those of you at the stations, old men and chiefs. Today we sit in this lodge as men of the Bear Society. We are gathered together here, through Woman Yellow Corn, who had a vision of one of our departed relatives, who asked that we have this ceremony, that Father and Mother might receive our smoke..."

The medicine men's activities which had not ceased, such as the Doctor Dances and the Buffalo Dance, took a new lease on life as a result of the Ghost Dance impetus. The people attended and participated enthusiastically, and young men began again to learn the doctors' ways.

It is probable that reconstructions of sacred bundle ceremonies were attempted, but we have unfortunately no record. The main effort of revival, as regards the sacred bundles, was directed toward bringing to the attention of the people the bundles still in the possession of the Pawnee, (viz., neither buried nor sold), and to open these in order to renew the contents. I do not know with how many bundles this was attempted. The procedure of renewal was also ritually and physically difficult. In the old days the main priests took charge, and the necessary materials were made available in advance. In Oklahoma neither priests nor materials were available. Mark Evarts described for me the events which took place in 1903 when an attempt was made to renew the tuhutsaku or Left-handed bundle. I quote a few passages:

Frank Leader was the main priest, assisted by Running Scout, Goodeagle, Knifechief (the elder), and John Box. When the bundle was lying open on the altar, Leader spoke:

"Now what you see here, it's a long time since we opened it. Now this here sweet grass," (picking it up), "it's been here a long time. That's what they used to light pipes many years ago. Now these things before me that I have, God put them before us. What

[1] Referring to the Ghost Dance prophecy of a coming change.

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178 you see here our old grandfathers had their hands on, but this old
778 woman," — referring to Gillingham's mother —, "when no one's
793 around she ought to untie it; bugs are spoiling some of these things. It isn't like it used to be a while back. We could untie the bundles every year, sometimes twice a year; now everything has kind of rotted. Now today we've untied it all. God himself looks down on this here. It is his will that things are changing on earth.[1] I don't know. I only have what I see here, but there used to be an old man, a priest, who sat here, and when he opened the bundle he would cry over it. I can't do anything. I have nothing to change these things. Now this bird where the head is coming off, I can't sew it with sinew; it will tear. It must be sewn with thread. The only way I have to do is to grease the things and make smoke. I can't go through it as they used to a long time ago."

Although the reconstruction of extinct ceremony, and the renewal of partially disintegrated bundles, proved extremely difficult, the attempt was made. At the same time the cosmological references and type paraphernalia of old bundles were recalled to serve as source material for conceptions and objects integrated in other cultural forms. Thus we find ideas from the old forms of ceremonialism, from the Evening Star bundle, the human sacrifice of the Morning Star bundle, and the Calumet ritual, interwoven with Ghost Dance thought in such developments as the Ghost Dance ceremonial forms and the Ghost Dance hand games; and replicas of old sacred objects appeared at hand game altars, symbolising the references of visions to the old bundles and ceremonies. (See Chapters II, VIII, IX, X, XI).

REVIVALS OF SOCIETIES

178 The old societies were a major type of revivals during the Ghost
575 Dance period. There is evidence for a revival in one form or another of the raris arusa (Horse Society), hatuxka ("Those coming behind"... Crow Lance Society), raris skirixki (Wolf Society), tirupahe (Fighting Lances), asitsakahuru (Crazy Dog Dancers), raris kaka (Crow Society), pakspahukasus (Rouched Heads), asakipiriru (Young Dog Dancers), raris arika (Horn Society or Horn Dance), and pitararis iruska (the old War Dance)[1].

[1] I have limited myself in this discussion to the facts of revival; the society forms, ceremonial smoking, performances, etc., will be discussed elsewhere. For some description of the old form of these societies, see Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, pp. 561, 570, 577, 576, 579, 581, 582, 616, 608. (Page references follow the order of the societies as listed above).

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These old societies were concerned primarily with war and hunting, and, becoming functionless, had practically ceased their activities by 1892. Each society was controlled by a bundle, from which the powers necessary to the activities of the members were derived, and which in turn derived its powers from greater sources in the major sacred bundles. A full and complete revival of a society would have meant a recreation of the structure of membership, in some cases involving hereditary seating plans, the renewal of the society paraphernalia, the carrying out of the society performances preliminary to regular seasonal activities of its members, and the war path and hunt itself. Some of these societies were entrusted with the policing of the organized hunt. Hence a complete revival could not be accomplished. But a number of societies were reconstructed to a point just short of completion. These were the Horse Society, the Young Dog Dance, the Horn Dance, the Crazy Dog Dance, the Roached Heads, the hatuxka, and possibly the old War Dance. No reconstruction of the membership arrangements was attempted, but led by men who had been connected with a society in former times, leaderships were instituted, singers were taught the old songs, and the dance performances of the society were carried out more or less exactly. Where old paraphernalia was available a renewal ceremony for its physical repair was attempted; while in some cases replicas of the old sacred objects of a society were made. My informants had witnessed regular participations of revival forms of the Horn Dance, Roached Heads, Crazy Dog Dance, Young Dog Dance,[1] Horse Society and old War Dance in the great gathering of bundles for Emmet Pierson's hand game. (See Chapter X). At this game the altars of these societies were arranged generically; each had one or more pipes and drums, and lances and other sacred objects were set out before the altar. The dancing to society songs in the game intervals required that the drum of the society be moved to the regular drum position, the hand game drum being moved aside.

My informants recalled witnessing in the Ghost Dance period, four or five performances of the Crazy Dog Dance, performances of the Horse Society, the Wolf Society, the Roached Heads and the Young Dog Dancers. In Nebraska days, since these societies were for men only, and for masculine functions, such performances could only be participated in by men and by men who were members. The Oklahoma revivals in terms of the Ghost Dance, were on behalf of all the people, and all who wished joined in dancing to

[1] A song recorded by Densmore reports a Ghost Dance vision in which the Young Dog Dance pipe was given. See Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

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feathers strung upon it so she could wear it over her shoulder. Her face was painted yellow. She selected a bearer of the crooked staff who was a descendant of the staff bearer in the old one Horn Dance. In part of the dance, dancers imitate various animals. The ceremonies are weird and exciting. A food offering of meat and corn is made. The dance is still given and led by this woman." (1914).

The Horse Society (raris arusa) was revived early, probably by Frank Leader. Murie describes at length a ceremony for renewing the society lances held May 23, 1902.[1] The paraphernalia included two lances, four rattles, four hand drums, and a red pipestone bowl with tubular dogwood stem, the stem incised with black bands to resemble trachea markings.[2]

Of certain societies we cannot be sure that the revival was extensive. All the societies mentioned were used as sources for the content of Ghost Dance visions, and the visionaries made facsimiles of old society objects which they carried in the dance. When the visions were as well bestowals of special rituals, such as hand games, the society objects became part of the bundle and altar. The Crow Lance Society (hatuxka) was revived in this way by Mark Rudder; a lance was placed at the altar, and a brief dance led by Rudder opened the game occasion (See Chapter X). The Society of Crows (raris kaka), a derivative of the hatuxka of aboriginal times, was independently revived by George Beaver, and it is probable that paraphernalia made by him were integrated with his game set.[3] Fancy Eagle is credited with the making of a hand drum which was associated with the old Fighting Lances (tirupahe[4]) and used in hand games.

In addition to the use of paraphernalia, songs of these revived societies were used in the intervals of the hand game ceremonies. It is also probable that the use of drums in the hand game ceremonies was based on old society forms.

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[1] Murie, Societies 561ff.

[2] Ibid., p. 567, p. 566 fig. 5. Two hand drums in the Field Museum (F M 79368—1,2) are probably those of Leader; the face bears in red a representation of the raris arusa sheathed lance with its sets of fringed feathers.

[3] F M 73962 is the revival lance; it is not encased in buckskin. F M 79364 and 79365 are hand drums decorated with Ghost Dance symbols, which are said to have been used for the raris kaka by Beaver.

[4] F M 71934. Reference is made by Densmore, Pawnee music, p. 68 to a song which apparently concerns the revival of this society. See also Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

178 According to Murie's[1] account the modern Skiri iruska was taken
796 over from the Oglala Sioux, but went back to a form of the Omaha
177 grass dance. It began to appear among the Pawnee in 1897, and was fully organized by Eagle Chief in 1911. An independent development of the iruska took place among the Kitkahaxki[2]. "About 1894 while the Ghost Dance was still intense a man named Sitting Bear began to have dreams of songs and the forms of the iruska. Later, he organized the ceremony and led it until his death in 1903. Interest in it then declined, but the drum came into the
[778 hands of Little-Sun, one of the leading singers. According to this
534] ritual, the drum was sacred and its keeper was the keeper of the ritual as in the case of the bundles. In 1912 Little-Sun revived the ceremony with the assistance of Eagle-Fly-High, also a pupil of Sitting-Bear." An independent development of the modern iruska took place among the Tcawi under the leadership of Roaming-Chief,[2] and thence spread to the Pitahawirat[a].[3]

668 Murie has described how the peyote ritual reaching the Pawnee
796 in 1890 was stimulated by the Ghost Dance excitement; and how some forms of the peyote worship were like Ghost Dance forms.[4]
276 Frank White, the great Pawnee Ghost Dance prophet, was also a peyote devotee (See Chapter 11). Murie adds, "it may be well to note that the founder of this Pawnee cult began to have his revelations during the Ghost Dance excitement. One of his individual
[787] doctrines is that while under the influence of peyote one may acquire knowledge or understanding of things previously unknown to himself. In this way, he is said to have learned rituals belonging to bundles and societies and also to have amassed considerable astronomical lore."[5] This indicates the extent to which the effort to bring back cultural aspects buried and forgotten was a definite part of the Ghost Dance doctrine.

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[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 624—625, 628. Cf. for a description of the forms of these rituals, pp. 624—630.

[2] Several shields in the Field Museum, depicting warriors' visions of Ghost Dance times are associated with the development of the modern iruska. F M 71844, and F M 59527 (two shields). One of the latter was identified as probably belonging to Roaming-Chief.

[3] The story of gradual changes in the form of Pawnee visiting party arrangements, associated with the modern iruska development, is a complex tale on its own account, and is reserved for treatment elsewhere.

[4] Murie, Societies, p. 636—637.

[5] ibid. p. 638.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

At that time a separate treaty was made with each band of Pawnee, designated as Grand, Noisy, Republic, and Marhar, the treaties being respectively on June 18, 19, 20, and 22. Peace was then concluded with all tribes of the region which had been disturbed by the war of 1812. A treaty with the Pawnee Tribe was made at Fort Atkinson, Council Bluffs, September 30, 1825, its purpose being "to remove all future cause of discussion or dissension." [3] By the treaty of October 9, 1833, the Pawnee ceded to the United States "all the land lying south of the Platt River." [4] A reservation in Nebraska was provided for the Pawnee who remained in that State until 1876, the sale of their reservation in Nebraska being approved on June 5 of that year. The setting apart of a reservation in Indian Territory (Oklahoma) was approved April 10, 1876. The Pawnee were removed to that reservation and "each head of a family or single person over 21 years of age residing upon said reserve, who shall so elect," was entitled to receive an allotment of 160 acres of land.[5] In a table compiled by the Office of Indian Affairs in 1908 it is stated that "112,859.84 acres were allotted to 821 [Pawnee] Indians, 840 acres reserved for school, agency, and cemetery purposes, and the residue of 169,320 acres was opened to settlement," the agreement being ratified by act of March 3, 1893.[6]

The number of Pawnee in 1702 was estimated by Iberville at 2,000 families. In 1838 they numbered about 10,000 persons, but the opening of a principal emigrant trail directly through the country in the forties introduced disease and dissipation and left the people less able to defend themselves against their enemies, the Sioux.[7] They decreased in numbers and in 1928 the Pawnee population was 2,766.[8]

The reservation of the Pawnee is beautifully diversified, with many streams and tracts of woods. There are outcroppings of stone in the region south of the town of Pawnee (pl. 3, *a*, *b*) while north of the town are broad, smooth fields. (Pl. 3, *c*.) On a private ranch near Pawnee a picturesque herd of buffalo was seen near a "buffalo wallow." (Pl. 4, *a*, *b*.)

The earth lodge of the Pawnee was about 40 feet in diameter and 15 feet high, and was occupied by several related families, each having its appointed space along the wall. "At the west side of the lodge a space was always reserved, which was considered sacred, and was called *wikaru* (place-for-the-wonderful-things), this being the name which is applied to the garden of the Evening Star, where the corn is always ripening and where are stored many parfléches of buffalo

[3] Ibid., pp. 258–260.
[4] Ibid., pp. 416 418.
[5] Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 159–161.
[6] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 363.
[7] Ibid., p. 216.
[8] Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the year 1928, p. 58.

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meat. Here rested a buffalo skull, so placed that it faced the entrance of the lodge and, consequently, the rising sun. Above this, and suspended from one of the rafter poles, was the sacred bundle and other religious paraphernalia."[9] This space is designated as the altar, and the sleeping space on either side of it was the most honored, the positions being graduated downward to that of the oldest people, which was next the door. The floor of the lodge was a foot or two below the ground and its framework may briefly be described as a "skeleton stockade" of heavy posts on which poles were laid, extending upward to the posts which supported the smoke-hole and outward to a bank of earth around the outer edge of the lodge. This framework was covered with earth and sod, resting on long willow rods laid transversely on the poles or rafters. The entrance was protected by a covered way built of poles and having an earth-covered roof. This lodge was constructed in a ceremonial manner and when a family returned from an absence the posts of the lodge were ceremonially anointed before they resumed their occupancy. A family usually possessed also a tipi covered with hides and used as a summer abode while on the hunt. Another structure used on the hunt was made by bending willows into a dome-like frame which was covered with boughs or skins.

The tribal organization has been mentioned as consisting of four bands, each living in its own location. Each band had its hereditary chief and its council composed of the chief and leading men. It had also its shrine ("sacred bundle") containing sacred objects, and its priests who had charge of the rituals and ceremonies connected with those objects. Miss Fletcher states that "Through the sacred and symbolic articles of the shrines and their rituals and ceremonies a medium of communication was believed to be opened between the people and the supernatural powers by which food, long life, and prosperity were obtained."[10]

The social organization of the tribe was clearly defined. At the head of this social order stood the chief, whose orders were enforced by four men called Nahikuts. Below these in rank were the Kurahus or priests who performed the ceremonies; next in order were the Kurau, or medicine men, and the warriors, while below these were the members of the tribe who held no office. The tribal council was composed of men who belonged to the council of several bands, and this body transacted all business which affected the welfare of the tribe. Descent was reckoned through the female line, and a man, after his marriage, went to live with his wife's family.

[9] Dorsey, George A. Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee. Memoirs Amer. Folk-Lore Society, vol. VIII, p. xv. New York, 1904.

[10] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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It was the belief of the Pawnee that all the members of a band were descended from one ancestor, and that the "sacred bundle" belonging to the band (or village community) was given to its ancestor by one of these heavenly beings. In addition to the bundles belonging to the several bands there were two bundles which were the property of the entire tribe. Each of the bundles contained one or two ears of corn, called "Mother Corn," which were the most sacred articles in the group. If two ears of corn were used, one was attached to a stick and symbolized the male element, or Morning Star, while the other symbolized the female element, or Evening Star. These ears of corn were shelled and given to the people as seed corn at the first ceremony in the spring. Next in importance were the tobacco-filled skins of hawks and owls, the hawk skin symbolizing a warrior and the owl skin a chief who must always be awake and watchful. Other articles in every bundle were sweet grass for incense, one or more scalps taken from slain enemies, tobacco, paints, and one or more pipe bowls. Some bundles contained other articles, and the skins of birds other than those mentioned.

The bundle belonging to a band was in charge of an hereditary keeper, and as the bundles were inherited in the female line, the owners were always women. When not in use a bundle was wrapped in buffalo hide, tied with a rope of plaited buffalo hair, and hung on the west wall of the lodge above the buffalo skull which was always placed opposite the entrance of the lodge. (Pl. 5, *a*.) The Morning Star bundle and its ceremony will be considered in a subsequent paragraph. The beliefs of the Pawnee differed considerably from those of other tribes using sacred bundles and Dr. G. A. Dorsey considers the village bundles of the Pawnee more nearly comparable to the elaborate altars of the Southwest Indians than to the medicine bundles of the northern Plains tribes and central Algonquian.

Elaborate ceremonies were connected with the sacred bundles. The ceremonial year of the Pawnee began with the first thunder in the spring, when the sacred seed corn was given to the people (pl. 7, *a*),[13] and ended with the harvest ceremony, which was followed by a ceremony known as "Making Mother Corn." At this ceremony the ears of corn in all the sacred bundles were renewed from the freshly gathered harvest. Aside from the seasonal observances there were numerous ceremonies whose time of observance was not fixed. All these were in charge of priests and had the welfare of the people as their object. These ceremonies contained a dramatization of some actions attributed to the gods and in practically all there was

[13] The writer acknowledges the courtesy of Dr. J. C. Simms, Director of the Field Museum of Natural History, in providing this photograph, also those of the sacred bundle and the costumes (pls. 5, *a*; 8).

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some form of offering or sacrifice. In addition to these were the ceremonies of the warrior societies and the medicine men. The number and elaborateness of the ceremonies show the Pawnee to have been, in the old times, a ceremonial people among whom symbolism was highly developed.[14] Only a portion of this rich ceremonialism is considered in the present work.

Peyote is used extensively among the Pawnee at the present time, but the subject was not studied nor its songs recorded. The writer listened to several of the songs, which were simple and appeared to be modern melodies.

[14] Cf. Fletcher, Alice C., The Hako, a Pawnee Ceremony. Twenty-second Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, Washington, 1900.

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in order that the music of the entire tribe may be represented. All these songs are combined in the analyses and the latter class, to some extent, affects the total numbers.

An important point, made evident in this comparative analysis, is the individuality of Pawnee music. It is distinct, in its entirety, from the songs of other tribes, though bearing a resemblance to one tribe or another in separate characteristics. The study of Indian music by an established system of analysis shows there are characteristics that are common to Indian songs of various tribes and different from the music of the white race, and also characteristics which distinguish the songs of one tribe from those of another. Among the former is the change of measure-lengths found in many Indian songs and the downward trend of the melody. The latter are indicated in the foregoing paragraphs. A characteristic of Pawnee music that evades, to some extent, the tabulated analysis, is its simplicity of both melody and rhythm. This can only be appreciated by a study of the melodies themselves. Pawnee music is the plainest of any thus far recorded in its rhythmic divisions and general content. This characteristic of the group may, however, be due to the absence of songs used in treating the sick, which are usually songs of complicated rhythms.

MORNING STAR CEREMONY

A sacred bundle of the Skidi Pawnee was associated with Morning Star and its ceremony was held in the early spring, having for its object the securing of good crops in the coming season. It was the writer's privilege to see the Morning Star bundle in the house of the woman who was its keeper, and also to see its contents exposed in the ceremony. The bundle, in accordance with custom, was hung on the west wall of its owner's house, and with it were hung four large gourds, symbolizing the four deities who were the special guardians of Evening Star and also representing the breasts of the two women in the west, Evening Star and Moon.[15]

The legend from which the Morning Star ceremony arose was related by Coming Sun, whose grandfather was a high priest in the Morning Star village and who received his name by inheritance from this ancestor. With Coming Sun's narrative is combined a limited number of details mentioned by Linton in "Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee."

As already stated, Morning Star ruled in the east and Evening Star in the west. All the stars west of the Milky Way were feminine and those to the east were masculine, but the most powerful were Morning Star and Evening Star. Sun was with the former and Moon was a companion of the latter. One after another the eastern

[15] Cf. Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, pp. 52-55.

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No. 1. Song of Morning Star (Catalogue No. 1102)

Sung by COMING SUN

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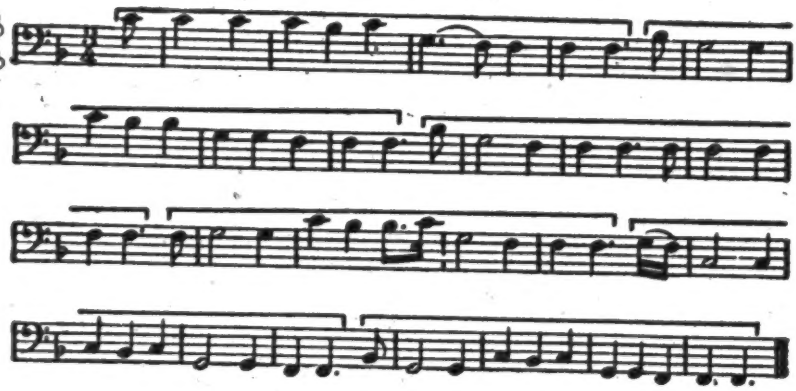
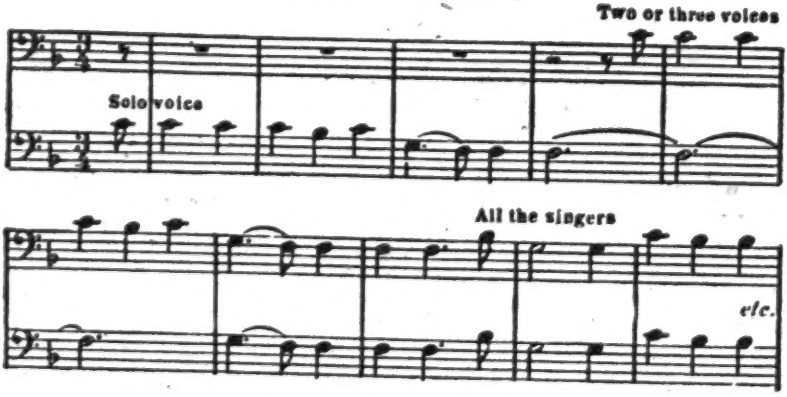


Manner of rendition



FREE TRANSLATION

"This I did when I became angry, in order that in the future the earth might be formed." In later use the words "And I imitate this power" were added, referring to the persons using the song.

*533 [26 779] *Analysis.*—This song was considered too sacred for phonographic recording and was orally taught to the writer by Coming Sun. For this reason the metronome time is not indicated. The manner of singing this and other ceremonial songs is indicated in the transcription, one voice singing the opening phrase, and holding a low tone while two or three voices repeat the opening phrase, after which all the voices proceed in unison. This melody is an example of interval formation. The only tones are F, G, B flat, and C, and the principal progressions

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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are whole tones between B flat and C, and between F and G. A similar melodic form occurs in Nos. 5 and 53. This song is transcribed with the signature of the key of F and classified with songs lacking the third above the keynote. The repetitions of the rhythmic unit are six in number and comprise the entire melody. Slight differences in the note values of the rhythmic unit occur in the latter part of the song.

The tenth obstacle was not encountered by Morning Star until after he entered the lodge of Evening Star. The obstacle was a snake, but he overcame it, as he had overcome the others, by means of the ball of fire and the song.

Evening Star saw that his power was greater than hers, but she determined to hold him aloof as long as possible. Finally she insisted that he make provision for the child that should be born; she even required him to provide perfumed water for bathing the child and a cradle board in which it should be placed. On the hoop, or arch, of this cradle board was painted a morning star and the lightnings, this custom being followed by the Pawnee at the present time. Evening Star also required him to plant a tree in front of the lodge so that the mocking birds might nest there and sing to the child. From this union a daughter was born. She came down to earth and wandered about in fear. As she was running hither and thither she met a boy, the child of Sun and Moon, and these two became the ancestors of the human race.

Morning Star made a bundle and placed in it various articles connected with the obstacles he had overcome on his westward journey. He left this bundle with Evening Star and for that reason a woman has always been the keeper of the sacred bundle. Other articles have been added from time to time and will be noted in this paper.

It is said that Evening Star required a human sacrifice as her reward. This sacrifice must be a pure and beautiful maiden and she demanded that the sacrifice be repeated annually. Long ago, Morning Star sometimes appeared to a man in a dream and told him to secure a maiden for this sacrifice. According to Linton, a man who had this vision went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received the warrior's costume and the sacred objects kept for such an expedition. Other warriors joined him and, preliminary to the expedition, they enacted the journey of the Morning Star, and sang the song with which he overcame the obstacles placed in his way. (Cf. Song No. 1.) When the ceremony ended it was almost time for the Morning Star to rise and the leader went outside the lodge and addressed an invocation to him. After dancing furiously around their fire and offering a last prayer to Morning Star the warriors started forth and captured a maiden from the enemy. Returning, they gave

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her into the care of the chief of the Morning Star village until the time for her sacrifice. She was treated in a ceremonial manner but kept in ignorance of her fate. At the appointed time her body was painted, half red and half black, and she was tied to a scaffold and shot through the heart with an arrow. It was said that the braided thong used to bind the girl to the scaffold is now in the Morning Star bundle.

Tradition states that on one occasion the intended victim was rescued. On the night preceding her execution she was seated beside some tall sunflowers. A young chief came through the tall weeds and stole her away, putting her on his horse and taking her to Fort Leavenworth, whence she was returned to her own people. She died within three months, having been anointed for death with the sacred ointment of red paint powder and buffalo fat. This occurred about the year 1818. The man who rescued the intended victim was a warrior of distinction and through his influence the custom was discontinued. The ritual of the sacrifice is still rendered but no actual sacrifice has taken place since that date.

Coming Sun, who sings the ceremonial songs, said that sometimes, during the Morning Star ceremony he stops and says "Listen," and the people hear a woman's voice singing the songs above his head.

The Morning Star ceremony was held by the Skidi Band near Pawnee, Okla., on April 17, 1920. This ceremony formerly lasted four days and nights, ending when the morning star appeared in the east, but at the present time it is concluded in one day. On this occasion the writer had the honor of entering the lodge, through the courtesy of Coming Sun. It is said that only one other white person, Dr. G. A. Dorsey, has entered the lodge during the ceremony and seen the contents of the sacred bundle.

The ceremony was held in a tipi erected for the occasion in a quiet spot near the house of the keeper of the bundle, north of Pawnee. This tipi had been used in the Ghost dance and was decorated with Ghost dance symbols. (Pl. 5, *b*.) The adjacent landscape is shown in Plate 3, *c*. The ceremony began at about 9 a. m. and continued until 4 p. m., the writer sitting outside the tipi except for the brief time she was permitted to enter. Thus the entire songs of the ceremony were heard, as well as the prayers and rituals, though only the principal song was obtained. At the proper time Coming Sun, who was in charge of the ceremony, sent a messenger to summon the writer and she entered the lodge, passing to the right and standing near the bundle, before which she laid gifts of calico, tobacco, and money. Coming Sun was seated back of the bundle, directly opposite the entrance, and held one of the sacred gourd rattles. Two men at either side of him held similar rattles. In front of the men at Coming Sun's left and next the sacred bundle was a belt decorated

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with human scalps, a coiled thong of braided hide and a bundle of "song-sticks." At the right of the bundle were four owls. The outer wrapping of the bundle is of buffalo hide and this was spread on the ground. On this was a wolf hide, and on the wolf hide lay a pipe, the "Cheyenne arrow," and wildcat paws filled with native tobacco. Between the wolf skin and the fire was a decorated ear of corn fastened to a stick which was stuck in the ground, the tip inclined toward the sacred bundle. This was "Mother Corn" and the decoration consisted of dark lines partly down its length and a white feather and dark streamer at its tip. It is said that the paws of the wildcat are selected to hold the tobacco because the animal is spotted like the star-strewn heavens, and that for the same reason the skin of the wildcat is often used as a wrapping for infants. In accepting the gifts offered by the writer, Coming Sun stroked her arm, accepting them in the prescribed ceremonial manner. She then left the lodge as she had entered, avoiding the space between the bundle and the fire. About 20 men were in the ceremonial lodge. They wore no clothing above the waist and their bodies were smeared with the "sacred paint" made of red paint powder mixed with buffalo fat and kept in the sacred bundle. A large fire was kept burning in the middle of the lodge, although the day was intensely hot.

The woman who kept the bundle prepared the feast that was served early in the afternoon, bringing for the purpose an armful of wooden bowls and a quantity of horn spoons of various sizes strung on a hide thong. The feast consisted chiefly of dried meat, boiled in the usual manner.

The tradition concerning the "Cheyenne arrow" in the Morning Star bundle is as follows: The Skidi were once on a buffalo hunt and were camped in the usual order, the tipis containing the Evening Star bundle and the Skull bundle being on the west side of the circle and that containing the Morning Star bundle being on the east side. The Cheyenne attacked the camp and Big Eagle, who was in charge of the Morning Star bundle, went out to fight. He did not, however, forget his duties, and before going to fight he told the people to close the tipi in which the bundle was kept. He fought well and captured four Cheyenne arrows, one white, one red, one yellow, and one black. The people believed he did this by the power of the Morning Star and the arrows were accordingly placed in the bundle. Afterwards the Cheyenne recovered two arrows by treachery, and another tribe secured one arrow, but the principal arrow is still in the bundle. It is black and has a flint tip. The shaft is of heavy wood, said to have been obtained in Arizona. It is said that the longer the arrow is kept the straighter and heavier it becomes.[16]

[16] Cf. Dorsey, George A., "How the Pawnee captured the Cheyenne medicine arrows," Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. v, pp. 644-658, Lancaster, 1903.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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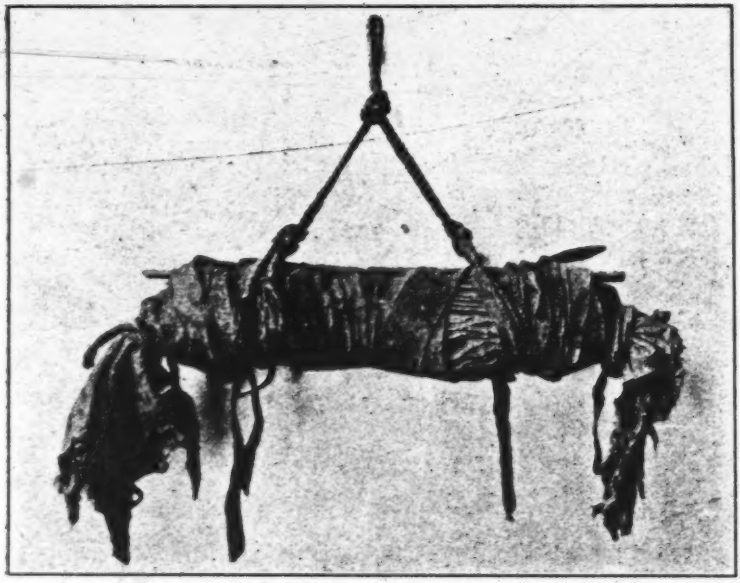

a, Sacred bundle

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b, Tipi in which Morning Star ceremony was held

[Facing p. 24]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUFFALO DANCE

796 The ceremony of Painting the Buffalo Skull is held every spring by the Chaui Band of Pawnee and is in charge of Mr. Stacy Matlock, a prominent member of that band. The closing events of the ceremony are the Buffalo and Lance dances, which were witnessed by the writer through the courtesy of Mr. Matlock, no other [346] white person being present. The ceremony and dances were held in a large earth lodge, several miles south of the town of Pawnee. (Pl. 6, *a*, *b*, *c*.) The opening of the lodge was toward the east. At some distance was a framework, probably that of a sweat lodge. (Pl. 7, *b*.) Only members of the Buffalo Society were admitted to the painting of the skull, but during the Buffalo dance the skull, [778] painted a few days previously, lay on a folded blanket in front of the "altar" which was opposite the entrance. This occasion and the Lance dance held a few days later afforded exceptional opportunities to listen to Pawnee songs, but the semidarkness of the lodge and the solemnity of the occasion precluded the taking of notes upon either the music or the details of the ceremonial dances.

[424] The chief singer at both of these dances was Wicita Blain, a blind man who received the songs by inheritance. He led the songs 796 which were sung at a certain position back of the altar. At a later 115 time he recorded the ceremonial songs here presented, also certain songs of the Bear dance, which is held in equally high esteem by the Pawnee. John Luwak, chief of the Chaui Band, was prominent at the Lance dance and later recorded numerous songs, including those of the Crow Lance Society. (Pl. 2, *a*.)

*533 The following song was led by Mr. Blain at the Buffalo dance 173 attended by the writer and is a very old song concerning Mrs. Blain's uncle, whose name was Naru'dapadi. A great herd of buffalo came to the place where the Indians were encamped and threatened the destruction of the village. Her uncle rode toward them, shouting and firing his gun in an attempt to divert them from their course, but he was caught in the herd. There were buffalo on all sides of him as the herd swept through the camp and across a stream, carrying him with them.

*533 *Analysis.*—This song is minor in tonality and contains all the tones of the octave except the fourth and sixth. These are the tones omitted in the fourth 5-toned scale which is major while the present song is minor in tonality. It is interesting to note that 25 per cent of the intervals are fourths. This interval, in songs of other tribes, has been found to characterize songs associated with motion or connected with animals. The most frequent interval is the whole tone. This song has a compass of 11 tones and contains the fourth below the final tone. Table 4 shows that the final tone is the lowest tone in a majority of the Indian songs under analysis.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

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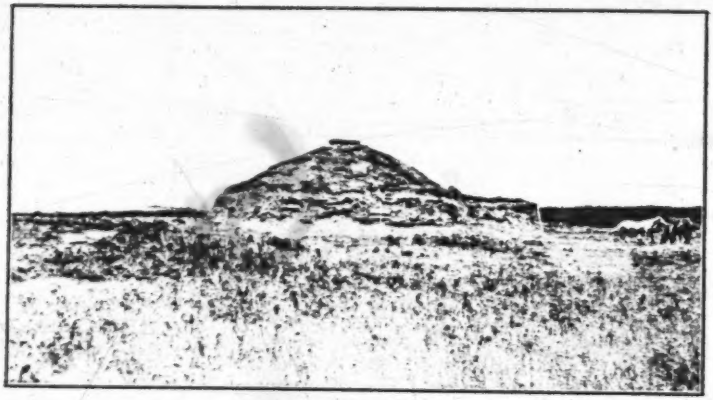

a, Exterior of earth lodge in which Buffalo and Lance dances were held

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b, Entrance to earth lodge in which Buffalo and Lance dances were held

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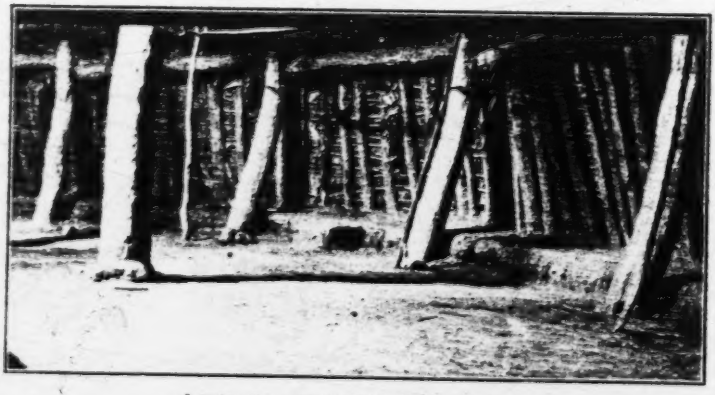
●778



c, Interior of ceremonial earth lodge, showing "altar"

[facing p. 25]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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Analysis.—Four renditions were recorded. The first and second renditions were interrupted by the shrill cries given by women in a war dance, the interruptions occurring in the eighth measure of the first and the ninth measure of the second rendition. After the second rendition the singer spoke several sentences rapidly and after the third rendition she repeated the shrill cries. The third and fourth renditions were sung without interruption. The foregoing is an interesting example of the performance of this class of songs. The tempo is slow and the melody is marked by a steadily descending trend. The song is harmonic in structure, contains all the tones of the octave, and has a compass of 11 tones.

SONGS OF THE RAVEN LANCE SOCIETY

The custom of the Pawnee concerning the raven lance (*kakutsaa*) was similar to that of the Mandan.[20] A warrior who carried this lance into battle and planted it in the ground was obliged to defend its position with his life. If he were killed, his comrades brought back the lance. By the Pawnee informant the lance was described as a staff wrapped with otter hide and having a crook at the upper end. It was decorated with eagle feathers and bore the body of a raven, commonly designated as a crow.

The dance of the Raven Lance Society was said to be "almost like that in which the dancers painted half their bodies red and half black," referring to the White Lance Society. The original owner of this dance lived to extreme old age and, as he had no children, he gave the dance to a young man who was one of his nearest relatives. One day the people said, "Some Indians are coming to attack us." The young man who had received the dance took his raven lance, mounted his pony, and went to get the old man. They rode together on the pony to a place near the fight and then went forward on foot, but the old man could not go as fast as the warriors. The old man called, "I am still coming," and the young man came back and helped him forward. The aged man was proud to see that the young man to whom he had given his dance was among the leaders in the fight. The enemy shot and killed the young man, and the lance was brought back with his body. Then the old man sang this song. In the manner of recording the song there was a wailing which was said to be "the old man crying because the young man had been killed and he had no more relatives," yet he loved the lance and all that it symbolized. He died soon afterwards and, as he was too old to give the dance to anyone else, the Pawnee do not have the dance at the present time.

[20] Cf. Mandan and Hidatsa Music, pp. 48 and 49, including "Song to the Raven"; also Lowie, Societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians, pp. 313-314.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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WAR SONGS

Three classes of war songs are here presented and comprise a song concerning a conquered warrior of the Cheyenne Tribe, several songs of Pawnee warriors, and songs which were sung at two gatherings of the tribe attended by the writer, these gatherings being in honor of Pawnee soldiers who had recently returned from the World War. 533*

The first song commemorates a well-known event in Pawnee history. About the year 1852 the Cheyenne and Arapaho returned from Washington, where they had gone to make a treaty with the Government of the United States. Among them was a Cheyenne of great reputation named Touching Cloud, who, because of the incident to be related, was afterwards known among the Pawnee as Iron Shirt. This man had in his employ a Mexican who could cut round disks from the thin frying pans used at that time. Touching Cloud had these disks sewed on a shirt and cap, the pieces overlapping as in old-world armor. Soon after the return of the treaty party, the Cheyenne attacked the Pawnee, who were hunting buffalo. Touching Cloud felt so secure that he rode directly among the Pawnee. His arms were so stiffened by the metal disks on his sleeves that he could use no weapon except a sword but he used this so effectively that he and his party drove the Pawnee back to their village. The Pawnee were unable to explain the fearlessness of this man and talked of it among themselves. In the village was a young man named Carrying-the-shield who had not gone with the hunters. He listened to what they said and remembered something told him by his father, who was keeper of a sacred bundle. His father had four sons and gave them four sacred arrows, each a different color. The arrow received by Carrying-the-shield was red. In giving the arrow his father said, "Use this arrow when you are in great danger and it will save your life." So Carrying-the-shield took the arrow and a bow, went out and met a party of Pawnee retreating with the Cheyenne in pursuit. The retreating party opened and let him through. Touching Cloud made ready to attack him but the youth shot him in the eye with the red arrow and he fell from his horse. The Pawnee "counted coup" on his body and found that he wore, concealed beneath his outer raiment, the metal-covered shirt made for him by the Mexican. Therefore he was known as Iron Shirt among the Pawnee. 175 648 [514 177] [778] [526 554]

Analysis.—An ascending tenth occurs in this song, representing an ascent from the lowest to almost the highest tone of the compass. The rhythmic unit is interesting and of frequent occurrence. The song is major in tonality and the most frequent interval is a major third. 533*

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PAWNEE.

The Pawnee formerly lived along the Platte River in what is now Nebraska. They were composed of four independent tribes, the Skidí, Chauí,[1] Kit'kaháxki, and Pítahauírata. Of these, the Skidí was the largest and in most respects the leading tribe. In language, it differs slightly from the other three tribes which have one and the same dialect. The Skidí were composed of thirteen villages, or bands. The Pítahauírata were in two villages, the Kawarakis and Pítahauirat. The Chauí and Kit'kaháxki were each single villages.

These villages, or bands, were the social units but seemingly placed no rigid restrictions upon marriage. A man got his place in a village through his mother. The women never left the village in which they were born, but if a man married a woman from another village, he must go there to live. His children were always considered members of the mother's village. In fact, the villages were in principle endogamous, for a man could not marry outside except with the consent of his village as represented by the governing officials, who usually opposed such unions on the ground that the strength of the village would be depleted.

THE BUNDLE SCHEME.

The basis of the social and political organization of the Skidí is their peculiar sacred bundle scheme, the detailed discussion of which does not fall within the scope of this paper. Hence, we shall but briefly note its general outline. The name for a sacred bundle is chúharipiru (chuhuru, rainstorm; ripiru, wrapped up), but sometimes it is spoken of as atira (mother), referring in this case to two ears of corn kept in each bundle and symbolically spoken of as the mother of the people. The reference to rain is due to the conception that the important powers of the world reside in the west, the home of the thunderers, from whence the powers of the bundles come.

[1] The Chauí were known to the French as the Grand Pawnee and their chief as le grand chef. The Skidí all lived on the north side of the Platte in Nebraska while the other three divisions were to the south. In the Journal of La Vérendrye, 1743, the lodge of the Grand Chief is mentioned, which incidentally enables us to locate the route of this explorer. In aboriginal days the Skidí seem to have been noted as cultivators of corn and have traditions of visits from distant tribes to replenish their stock of seed. Even the Comanche made such visits. According to Murie, the Skidí villages were often called the Awahi (Harahey) and when Coronado reached the Wichita they were naturally referred to as the leading people of the country.— Ed.

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778 come. While all these bundles had their individualities, they had certain ceremonies in common: thus at the sound of the first thunder in spring, [782] the keeper of each bundle must immediately open it with the proper procedure and make an offering of dried buffalo meat to the powers in the west.[1] This offering is burned, but after the ceremony the remaining meat is cooked and served.

184 As to how far this applied to the other divisions of the Pawnee, cannot be determined for they have not preserved their bundles and rituals to the 778 same extent as have the Skidí. The Chauí are known to have had three bundles, the Pítahauírata, two; but those of the Kit'kaháxki passed out so long ago that no definite number can be enumerated. The rituals of all these bundles were seemingly different from those of the Skidí in that so far as we know they did not have the regular thunder ceremony, but consecrated the bundles to certain animals. It is not known for certain if the sacred ears of corn were kept in these bundles as in those of the Skidí, but there are some reasons for believing that they were.

103 In the Skidí scheme there were thirteen villages, each of which had a 361 bundle:—

631 1 Tu^{h}rikaku^{h}, center village; the Evening Star bundle.

778 2 Kitkahapaku^{h}tu, old village; the four leading bundles are kept in this village.

3 Tu^{h}hitspiat, stretching out in the bottom lands.

4 Tu^{h}kitskita, village on branch of a river.

5 Tu^{h}wahukasa, village stretching across a hill; the Morningstar bundle. (This bundle was finally divided into two.)

6 Arikararikuchu, big antlered elk standing.

7 Arikarariki^{h}, small antlered elk standing.

8 Tu^{h}huchaku, village in a ravine; the left hand bundle, all use left hands in the ceremony.

9 Tu^{h}warakaku, village in thick timber.

10 Akapaxsawa, skull painted on tipi.

11 Skisa rikus, fish hawk.

12 Stixkautit, black ear of corn.

13 Turawi, part of a village.

631 These thirteen villages were organized or federated under this bundle 778 scheme and so had a common government. The supreme, or original

[821] [1] The Evening Star (calf bundle) is the chief power in the west. Four other stars in the west represent the clouds, thunders, lightning, and the winds, or the four leading bundles. These four stars are supposedly sitting in the west, acting as priests. They are sitting there with a parfleche filled with dried buffalo meat; also, they are sitting with a hill of corn, the stalks always green, and a place in front of them as the altar.

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authority resided in the evening star bundle[1] of the center village, but at the time of the federation of these villages, powers were delegated to four special or main bundles which in turn served as the basis of the governing power. These were:— 631 778

1. The Yellow Tipi, or Yellow Star bundle, pertaining to the powers of the Northwest (akarákata, yellow tipi).

2. The Mother-born-again, or White Star bundle, the powers of the Southwest (atíratatariwáta, mother born again).

3. The Leading Cornstalk, or Red Star bundle, the power of the Southeast (skawá^{x}ha kitáwi, literally, a lucky woman as leader, but refers to a corn symbol).

4. The Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, or the bundle "with a round thing tied on" pertains to the Northeast (riwiruchaku, round thing on).

To this list may be added the Human Skull bundle and the North Star bundle. These bundles may be said to be general in the sense that they are attached to no particular village but minister to the Skidí at large.

There were, however, two independent Skidí villages that refused to enter the federation. These were the Squash Vine village (pahukstatu) and Wolf-standing-in-water village (skirirara). Each of these villages had a bundle, but little in common with the ritual scheme of the federated villages.

The federation of the thirteen villages is represented and formalized in a ceremony known as the four-pole ceremony. For this a circular embankment was thrown up with an opening to the east. Out in front of this entrance was a small mound of earth taken from the fire pit and inside at the west a raised altar platform. Around the inside of the ring of earth was a screen of green branches set up in the ground. Arranged around the fireplace were four poles bearing a tuft of branches at the top; a white pole of cottonwood, a red of box elder, a black of elm, and a yellow of willow. In the ceremony the bundles enumerated above and their keepers had fixed positions according to their rank and the geographical relations of the respective villages. As will be noted in the diagram most of the bundles are upon the north side of the enclosure, these lived on the north side of the Loupe River, the others upon the south side. The positions of the priests of the bundles are shown in the diagram and in the ceremony the bundles are opened before them in order (Fig. 1). 346 631 796

The leading bundles are associated with the four poles, according to the colors as stated in their enumeration. These bundles, poles, colors, etc., 631 778 796

[1] The Evening Star, or red calf bundle (arípahat, red calf) may be called upon in time of need to supplement the powers of a leading bundle. Because of this relation to the four leading bundles it is sometimes called rakatira (lay across them).

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represent the powers in the four quarters of the world and also stand for spring, summer, autumn, and winter, but in no fixed order, the season a bundle represents being determined by the order of the ceremony.

A brief abstract of the mythical account of the inauguration of this federation may make the foregoing clearer:—

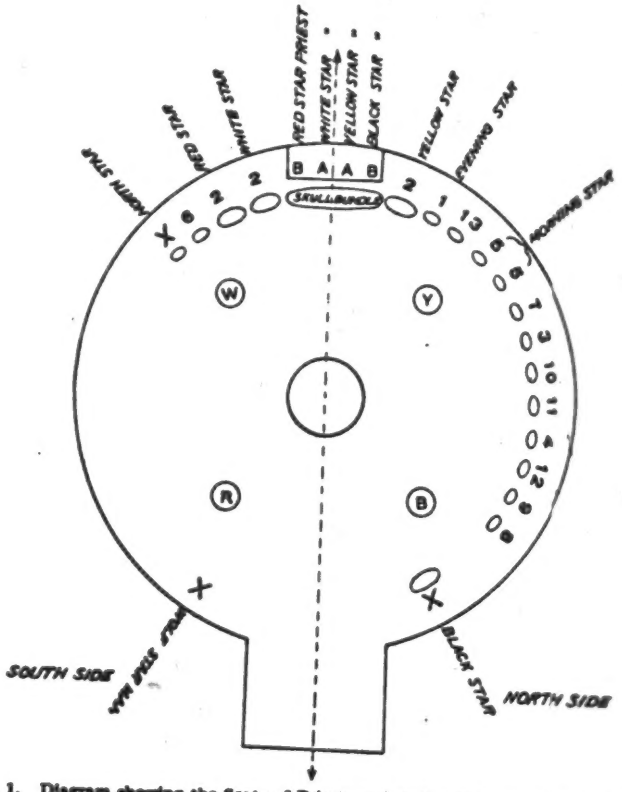

Fig. 1. Diagram showing the Seats of Priests and their Village Bundles, in the Four-pole Ceremony. The numerals are from the table of villages in the text. The places of the four main bundles and the special bundles are designated by their respective names.

Evening Star (Venus) is the keeper of the firesticks which she received when she married Morning Star (Mars). He was the ruling spirit to the east of the milky way. Evening Star was a beautiful woman and very powerful. She was opposed to the creation of the earth and man and had overcome all the stars seeking her in marriage. Supporting her were four great powers, or stars, the Bear, Panther, Wildcat, and Wolf. There was also a great serpent group of stars. Morning Star

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overcame all of these in turn. Thus, he secured Evening Star. Then follows the familiar vanquishing of vaginal teeth. In course of time, a daughter was born. The earth was then created for the home of this child. The Sun and Moon became parents of a boy and he also was placed upon the earth.

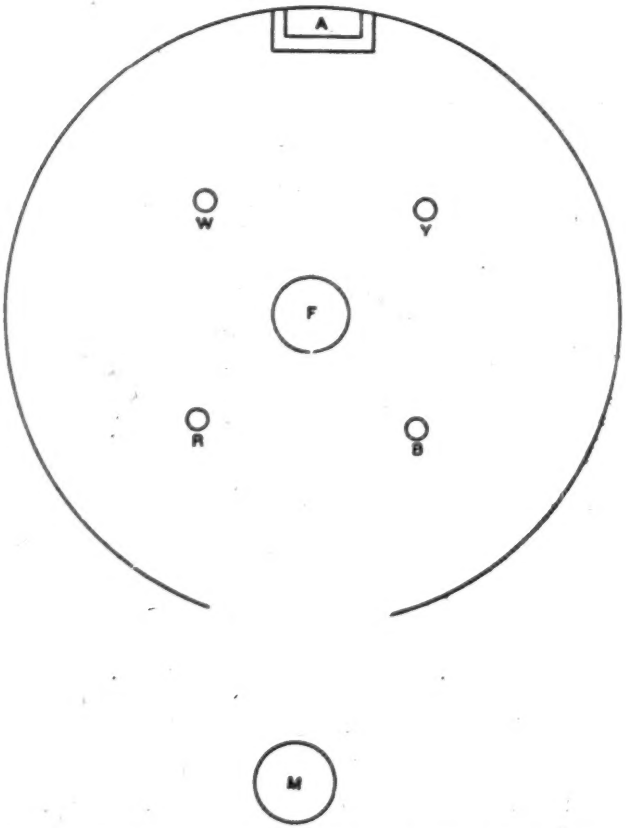

Fig. 2. Diagram of the earthwork Enclosure for the Four-pole Ceremony: A, altar for the buffalo skull; W, white pole (cottonwood); Y, yellow pole (willow); R, red pole (box alder); B, black pole (elm); F, fire pit; M, earth taken from the fire pit. During the ceremony a screen of green branches is set up inside the embankment. The poles are young trees trimmed to a few branches at the top. The seats and positions of bundles were as shown in Fig. 1.

After many years when the people were numerous, Morning Star demanded a human sacrifice as a return for his trials. Evening Star gave one man and woman directions for making the Yellow Calf bundle. Then Evening Star told him that there were many people scattered over the earth and that he should call them to-

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631 gether. So Errand Man was sent out. From each village came the people with
773 their sacred bundle. Errand Man told the chief that upon Elkhorn River he found a village of earth-lodges covered with squash vines in which a bundle ceremony was going on in consequence of which they refused to come. Also on Looking Glass Creek he came to a village where the people had just performed a ceremony to call the buffalo and as the buffalo were at hand, they could not accept the invitation. Most of the buffalo were killed upon the ice which during the day was covered with water. The wolves stood around the carcasses and many were caught by the feet as the ice formed at night. So these two villages did not take part in the general bundle ceremony and were known as the Squash Vine and Wolf-standing-in-the-water.

Those who had assembled now performed the four-pole ceremony. The keeper of the bundle and his priest occupied their regular seats at the back of the lodge and as the bundles of other villages arrived those from the north took seats on that side and those from the south upon the other. The village of the host was then called Center Village.

622 The special federation of these Skidí villages necessitated a governing
631 organization different from that of the other divisions. The governing body was a society of chiefs, twelve or more in number. It seems that in principle there was to be one chief for each village bundle, though as such he had nothing to do with the bundle. When the chiefs society met in a lodge they took their seats in the same order as indicated in the diagram of the four-pole ceremony, but the bundles were not brought into the lodge.
[202] Two errand men were members and sat by the door.[1] The chiefs were of equal rank and inherited their office. However, there was some selection, for the elderly men filled vacancies from those directly descended from chiefs. All the chiefs taken together constituted the tribal council of the Skidí.

631 The chiefs are, however, not the highest authority, that distinction
793 belonging to the priests of the four main bundles. Their office is hereditary; each priest selects an assistant from his near relatives who thus becomes qualified to become priest in turn. In rotation the four leading priests take over the responsibility for the welfare of the people for one year, counting from the first thunder in the spring until fall. This chief priest is the highest authority; he is the source of final appeal and to him all acts of the
224 council of chiefs must be referred. The buffalo hunt in particular must
631 be regulated according to the ritual of the bundle whose priest happens
778 to be in charge. As noted above, the Red Calf bundle is superior to the
793 leading bundles, but its priest cannot exercise authority except he be

[1] As noted above, two villages refused to join in the federation. Later, they were taken in and their chiefs were given seats in the vacant place on the south side of the lodge, but they were not permitted to enter the four-pole ceremony.

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officially called upon to assume it. As previously noted, there was a curious arrangement in that the keeper of the bundle could be endowed with the power of all four bundles. This we do not fully understand, but in case buffalo should fail, owing to the weak powers of the chief priest, special ceremonies would be performed to pool, or unite, the powers of the four main bundles by temporarily merging their power into the ritual of the Red Calf bundle. This bundle alone contains firesticks; its keeper builds the council fire, and in the old Skidi scheme of villages it belonged to the central village. Its keeper must also be present at the ceremonies of the other four bundles, and in a way he alone can call the whole tribe together. Yet, it is only in times of great trial, that he by special ceremonies becomes the chief priest. It is only when the four leading bundles fail to provide buffalo and the people are starving that the chiefs beg the priest whose bundle is then leader to call upon the calf bundle to lead. The priest gives his consent. Then he fills the sacred pipe with native tobacco and hands the pipe to his chief who goes to the tipi of the calf bundle priest. When the chief enters the tipi he walks to the priest who offers the pipe to him and explains why he has done so. The priest, knowing the wants of the people, receives the pipe. The chief thanks him; lights his pipe and waits. When the chief receives the pipe he returns to the other priests' lodge and returns the pipe, telling him that the other priest had received the pipe. The priest and people are glad. Then the ceremony of transferring power is carried out. It is the belief that the buffalo will then come dashing into the village.

The priests of the four leading bundles and the priest of the Red Calf bundle are thus seen to be important personages. While each of the other bundles has its priest, his function is quite secondary; in fact, he is little more than a custodian, providing the meat and corn necessary to the ceremony. The principle of operation is that the ceremony for each bundle is conducted by one of the five leading priests, i. e., the priest of the Red Calf bundle must always be present, and the conductor is either he or one of the four leading priests, as the ritual may require. Normally all five are expected to be present. There is a partial exception in the Morning Star bundle for in this case the conductor of the ceremony was a special official of the village, not its keeper, but even he was under obligation to call in the calf bundle priest who alone knew the creation rituals, and the two leading rituals for all bundles. In short, with the exception just cited, the calf bundle priest was required to know the ritual of each bundle and if need be conduct each ceremony; the four leading priests were to a less degree required to do the same.

In this connection, it may be noted that the custodianship of a bundle is in the hands of the womar. She cares for it at all times and knows some

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539 rainbow. The evening star provided a bag. The council discussed what these
575 people should take with them. Morningstar said: "I will supply a sacred bundle and I wish eveningstar to contribute someone to carry it and four men to care for it."

[293] [411] [778]

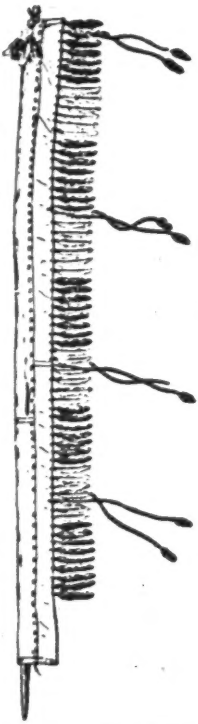

Fig. 3 (50.1–7191). Lance for the Two Lance Society, one of two. The cloth is red, the feathers white (goose) and black (crow). The pendant feathers are crow and the tuft at the top, owl. Length, 2.387 m.

Eveningstar brought an ear of corn which was transformed into a girl, the bearer of the bundle. First the four men were put into the bag, then the girl with the bundle, then people, and finally, the two lance men. The bag was tied so the man could carry it on his back.

It was now time for Paruxti to visit the earth. Eveningstar commanded the four powers in the west, clouds formed, lightning and thunder were placed into the clouds. Paruxti was placed upon the clouds and the wind slowly blew them along towards the earth. Soon the clouds rested on the earth and Paruxti stood upon it. He went towards the east leaving footprints so the gods knew he was on his way.

One time when he was tired and lonesome he remembered what the gods had told him about the bag. He sat down near a stream, placed the bag in front of himself, and opened it. First the two lance bearers, carrying the lances, jumped out. They stopped some distance off, one standing at the south and one at the north side. Soon people sprang out and took their places behind the two lance men. Then came the girl with the sacred bundle on her back. Behind her the four men walked abreast.

The two lance men lead the people to some level ground. They stuck the lances into the ground while the rest of the people put up their tipis. The first one was set up facing east, for the bundle girl and the old men. The bundle was hung up inside the tipi on the west wall. The girl sat beneath it. Two of the old men sat on the north and two on the south side of the tipi. Throughout the village all was bustle and confusion. The boys, young men, and old men were playing with their sticks and rings. For the boys the ring was small and the sticks had two hooks on one end. The sticks used by the older men were hooked at one end and had two cross bars while the ring was smaller than that used by the young boys. The oldest men played with large rings and straight sticks. The women sat in circles and played a game with plum seeds and a basket while others played shafts.

Messengers were sent through the village to call out the men to look for game. The runners notified the people that they had seen many buffalo. The men went out to hunt them and returned with the meat. The first buffalo killed was taken to the holy tipi.

They stayed at this place four days when the holy being told the four old men that it was time to move. Camp was broken and everyone returned to the bag, the two lance bearers last of all.

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The lance for the north side was black and for the south, white. There were two rattle bearers who stood and danced as in the preceding. There were four singers and two water drums. Their war duties were as previously stated. This society was composed of chiefs and warriors, on different sides. At stated times, the members demonstrated their deeds, trophies, and war medicines.

It seems that there were three bundles in the Pítahauírata division at one time and the three feathers on the lance are supposed to be one for each. The members were members of the chiefs society, warriors and men who had consecrated eagles; hence the small eagle feathers are put on the lance. In the consecrating of eagles the heads are strung through the nose with sinew, all the members having gone through this ceremony; hence the string here symbolizes the consecration but it is not known if the hooked part of the lance is the eagle's head. The pipe of this society is borrowed from the warrior's bundle.

So far as known, the organizations in the three divisions were identical.

The Wolf Lance.

The rarisits skiri^{h}ki^{h} (society of wolves) was peculiar to the Wolf-standing-in-water village. There were two lances, four flat hand drums painted white, four singers wearing caps of wolfskin like roaches, four rattles (two for each side). All members painted white. The pipe bearer who sat in front of the four singers painted red, however. The lance bearers sat among the dancers, but the lances rested against the lodge posts. There was no regular dance evolution, each one going as he pleased. The old men and one messenger were on each side.

There were two war shields covered with wolfskin for each side. For each shield there was a bearer. It was a war organization and differed from the others in that as an organization it could go to war. The lances were left at home, however. So far as known they never acted as police of the hunt, but the members seem to have had the right to take the lances of the hunting society and scout for buffalo.

The lodge of this society had its door toward the west instead of east.

The Black Heads.

The pakskatit society was peculiar to the Kit'kahákxi division. They seem to have been important for they could act both as police of the buffalo hunt and in the line of battle. While there were two sides as before, there

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The Organized War Party.

There was a fixed ritual for the control of a war party, which when organized for a foray was for the time being a kind of wolf society (araris taka, society of the white wolf). Its mythological basis is quite fundamental, being that part of the creation myth in which a wolf pursued man and deceived him. In any event, the god of war is a mythical wolf and it was directed that a wolfskin should always be placed at the top of a bundle and that the Skidi were to be the wolf people, as the name implies. Hence, to become a real warrior one must follow the ways of the wolf. One who does so can go to the keeper of a bundle and borrow the war clothing therein together with the pipe. The wolfskin remains in the bundle, but the objects he takes away carry with them the power of the wolf. By their association with the bundle, these war clothes represent the powers of the west and when the borrower is so clothed these powers are with him. He can now organize and lead a war party, but he himself must not imitate the wolf, that is left to his followers. Thus, they become like the wolf first placed upon the earth and may have power to steal upon the enemy and get away without being discovered. 701 721 726 [776]

Before setting out upon a foray a ceremony is held in the village in which as in all else the borrower of the regalia from the bundle is the leader. An altar is made and the bundle from which the regalia are to be borrowed is brought in and placed before the leader. Upon it is the wolfskin and in the minds of the warriors the wolf is present and, hence, always with them upon the way. A buffalo skull rests upon the altar. 726 [778]

The war regalia of the bundle are usually a pipe, a collar, a lariat rope, a hawkskin, an ear of corn (Mother Corn), some red paint, down feathers, and a leader's feathers.

As the bundle is present there must be a north and south side and two leaders. On the march they go abreast with the others behind in order of their rank. A four-day ceremony follows, before setting out. On the way, their organization is for each side, or line: a leader, two scouts, two soldiers, the warriors, and the inexperienced assistants. The four scouts are really charged with the responsibility of the movement and may be said to be in command (see p. 55) though the leaders stand for the highest authority. They scout about in the early hours of the day and at all times on the journey. Their signals are made as wolf cries. When a scout has anything to report, he tells it privately to the leader of his side. At the proper time the leader announces the import of the report in a formal ritualistic manner. They never approach or in fact go anywhere in a direct line, but follow an [201]

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affair. This is not the time to go into a detailed account of it, but the following general sketch of the procedure seems necessary.

The native name for the ceremony is tawaru kutchu, big sleight-of-hand, but we shall for convenience speak of it as the twenty-day ceremony, as in fact it is often called by the Pawnee themselves. It is found among all the divisions, but seems to have originated with the Squash Vine village, to whose medicinemen alone certain parts of the ritual were known. From the originators it passed to the Skidí and then to the other divisions. The twenty-day ceremony proper is given in the early autumn after all the bundle ceremonies have been performed, the corn harvested, etc. At the proper time the lodge is cleared and the altar arranged as before. After certain preliminary ceremonies, it is in order for each medicineman to build a booth [343] of green willows in the lodge. They proceed ceremonially to a thicket where each gathers his willows, with which they march back and then construct their booths.

It may be stated that each medicineman sets up a booth for himself, but if he has attached to him one or more younger men in the capacity of students, these assist. Each booth, therefore, really represents a group of men. Further, all the people of the village to which a given medicineman belongs may at times enter, take seats around the booth, and offer assistance. In this way the whole people may be said to participate.

Among the Skidí there is a special feature since they are not content with merely dancing to the mythical water monster, but construct his image encircling the fireplace. In this all the medicinemen's groups take shares. The head is begun on the south side of the door. The mouth is open, with teeth of willow. The head is covered with buffalo skin. There are two long "feelers" decorated with bands of bright colors. On the crown of the head is a large erect plume of down feathers. The body of the monster is formed of bowed willows, plastered over with mud. The tail is at the north side of the door and is forked like that of a fish.

The fireplace is cleared out and a large turtle modeled there, his head toward the altar. A new fireplace is then made on his back. While the water monster was peculiar to the Skidí the following were found among all divisions. A tree was cut and brought in with a ceremony almost identical with that found in the sun dances of other tribes. The Skidí plant the tree (a cedar) in the forked tail of the monster, the others put it (a cottonwood) at the altar. A life-sized woman is built up of clay, dressed in regular costume and set up on the south side of the lodge. A large figure of a man is cut from rawhide and placed upon a pole above the lodge. Numerous small human figures are cut from rawhide, strung upon cords and stretched about overhead in the lodge. All these objects are highly symbolic: thus, the fire

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is the sun; the mud woman, the moon; the large rawhide image, the morningstar; the many small images, stars. 184 532 756

All this construction was part of the ritual and so controlled by a definite program. When everything was in place, a general dedication ceremony followed in connection with which is a spectacular march through the village in two lines, according to their sides. In front, two men carry the sacred animals from the altar, dancing. (For the Skidi, two loons are used, for the other divisions, two beavers.) All medicinemen are supposed to derive their powers from living creatures and their booths are spoken of as animal lodges. In this procession each man costumes himself so as to represent his animal mentor, often in very realistic fashion. There were also a few clowns dressed like wolves. 778 796 756 796 [522]

After the tour of the village, the procession enters the lodge and holds a secret ceremony upon which we have no data. Those on the outside hear a great uproar and a riot of hideous noises, while clouds of white dust rise from the smoke hole. When all is quiet again, the door is opened. The leader then performs a ceremony in which he sprinkles water about to consecrate the lodge.

It is then in order for the various medicinemen to demonstrate their animal powers. This is the time when remarkable feats of juggling were performed; thus it is told that stalks of corn were made to grow up and mature in a moment, likewise plums and cherries, the bear men tore out a man's liver and ate it, after which he rose unharmed, and so on, in bewildering variety.

Finally, a certain number of days were given to ceremonial visits to the sacred bundles, each in turn, where certain ceremonies were performed.

At the end the animal powers and images are taken down and carried to a stream or lake. Here they are heaped up in the water something like a beaver's house and the mud woman placed on top.[1]

Places or booths in this ceremony were assigned by the leaders. A man having set himself up as a medicineman would apply for a place. He would be assigned one provisionally and at the proper time called upon to demonstrate; if he failed to carry his trick through successfully he was ejected, but otherwise given a permanent seat. As may be anticipated from the foregoing, medicinemen were trained and not made suddenly through dreams or visions. It is true that such experience counted for much, but the usual way to become a medicineman was to succeed one's teacher at his death. Thus, it is clear that the seats in the twenty-day ceremony were practically fixed in form and number.

[1] It may be significant that the animal painted tipis of the Blackfoot and Dakota were always disposed of by sinking in water and that many ceremonial objects among the Arikara, Hidatsa, and Mandan were similarly treated.— Ed. [171]

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The Bear Society.

756 Among the very highest of shamans and doctors were the bear men. Among their regalia were four bearskins, a grizzly, cinnamon, the large [301] black bear, and the small black bear. There were also four bear-claw necklaces. Eight rawhide rattles were used. Preparatory to a ceremony two piles of cedar brush were placed in the lodge, one for each side. When the members have assembled a sprig is given to each, set up before his seat, and carried in the dance. The sprig is carried home, the leaves stripped and the [789] wood cast into the fire. The leaves are placed in a bag and used for ceremonial smudges; thus if a thunderstorm threatens, a smudge is made to protect the lodge.

When called to a ceremony, the members enter, take their seats and place [302] their professional bundles in front. Then they paint. One set of men paints red, one white, and another a kind of pink. All make black eye marks, a diagonal line from the inner corner of the eye down across the cheek. If feathers are worn in the hair, they are of the same color as the face.

When all are ready, the leader designates two men from each side, to wear the bearskins. These were worn merely as robes, the head on one side, the tail on the other. Sometimes two small boys are selected to dance with [53] very small bearskins. Four water drums are used; these are passed, or moved around the circle at intervals. While the songs are rendered, the members dance around the fireplace and during the intervals walk around the fire, or mill like bears.

At the feast which follows the kettle of corn is brought in and as in all ceremonies is set upon the median line of the lodge between the door and the fire. (Fig. 4). Eight bowls are placed around it in a circle, those in [264] the north half going to that side in order, etc. After the corn is served, the kettle of meat is brought in and served in a similar manner. Thus each side eats in four groups. No one is permitted to use a knife while eating. After the feast each makes up his bundle and departs.

While all the divisions seem to have had a bear society, its full ritual was in the keeping of the Skidi organization.

Buffalo Doctors.

Another important society found among the Skidi and Chaui is known as [178] kura taraha, buffalo doctors. On their altar is a buffalo skull, one half white, one half red; also a wand with seven eagle feathers, at the top a tiny bag of native tobacco and four strings of blue beads hanging down. The

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

dancers wear headdresses made of buffalo wool and stick buffalo tails in their belts. In former times the full buffalo head was worn. They carry rattles of buffalo hoofs. Each paints with earth from a buffalo wallow mixed with the urine of male and female buffaloes.

One member carried a staff, or lance, strung with buffalo dew claws. The important object, however, was a sacred shield, kept hanging in the lodge. It was painted red and bore the designs of four buffalo horns in black. There were no feathers or other decorations.

As indicated in the diagram (Fig. 16) the chiefs and a few distinguished old men are given seats near the door. We have again the peculiar feature of passing the drums, or alternating leadership. This is made clear by the diagram; in addition to the regular leaders and their two assistants, each side has two groups of alternate leaders. In the ceremony the head leaders open, but after the second song, pass the drums to the nearest leaders on the north side. After two more songs, they are taken to the leaders opposite on the south side, etc., until completing the circuit four times.

The ritual is known to these groups of leaders only, and between them sit the ordinary members. These may be of all ages, including the small sons of those present or descended from dead leaders.

The Deer Society.

The raris ta, or deer society, is found among all divisions, but its ritual seems to be in keeping of the Skidi organizations. The fundamental elements of the ritual seem to be based upon the mescal bean, for this society teaches that all animal powers were learned through the power of the mescal bean. While the name of the society is taken from the generic term for deer (ta), the dancers imitate many kinds of animals, suggesting that we have a general animal cult instead of a specific one. That the mescal is fundamental is suggested in the initiation of members. Tea made from mescal beans by a definite formula is given the candidate and when he falls unconscious, the leader tests him by rasping down his spine with the toothed jaw of a gar fish; if he moves or flinches in the least, he is rejected once for all.

Again at the regular ceremonies shamanistic feats with mescal beans may be performed. If anyone in the village brings in a new red blanket for the leader, these must be demonstrated. The performing members then rise and dance, presently shaking mescal beans from bunches of sage and other unexpected places. The leader does not dance but industriously sweeps up beans from the bare ground. At the end all the beans magically produced

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778 However, there was one bundle jointly dependent upon animal powers and tirawahat, the keeper of which could appeal to both.

Coups. The Pawnee count coups but they are of no particular importance. They do not qualify a man for service. A Pawnee must have consecrated buffalo, wildcat skins, etc. This takes the place of the coup among other tribes; for important services one must have four or more of these consecration ceremonies to his credit.

554
726

535 *Eagle Dance.* There was long ago a kind of eagle dance in the Pitahauirata division, but we have no data upon it.

Exchange of Wives. According to the Pawnee, the Arikara exchange of wives is due to the necessity of passing instructions through a woman and not directly to a man. The Pawnee have no such conception or practice. Instruction among them is direct. An Arikara gives his wife to a medicine-man in order to learn his secrets. This is considered no disgrace to the woman but is spoken of in medicine ceremonies that people may know that she had been given away to receive instruction for her husband. By virtue of this she becomes the owner of all ceremonial animal skins and sacred bundles.

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Hunting Ceremonies. There seem to have been no hunting ceremonies for bear, but peculiar beaver ceremonies may be noted. When a trapping party took its first beaver, a special feast was given. The whole animal was cooked. The head, feet, and tail all went to the host. Every morsel must be eaten and the broth drunk. Then the bones were gathered up and thrown into the water. For no other animal are such procedures known. Eagle trapping, for which there was a ritual, was formerly practised.

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[223]

Love Medicine. There were no love medicines as among the northern Indians. However, charms, songs, etc., to lure women were furnished by sexual perverts who lived somewhat apart and were in social disrepute.

832
838

No-flight Idea. A lariat rope seems to have been in the war regalia and taken out with an organized war party. With this one could stake himself down before the enemy, if he chose, or had made the vow.

726

Painted-Tipis. Among the Pawnee decorated tipis were the homes of medicinemen and, hence, bore animal symbols exclusively, or almost so. Deeds in war were painted upon robes, but not upon tipis.

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532

Sex Taboo. Success in all shamanistic feats requires a period of restraint in which women must not be so much as touched. While this is emphasized in the iruska narrative (p. 609) it is fundamental for all Pawnee medicine-men. Its appearance elsewhere in special connection with the modern iruska dance, suggests Pawnee influence.

834

Smoking. A Pawnee man was not permitted to smoke until he had performed certain qualifying ceremonies. Only a relatively small number

276

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In case of the Pawnee, we may note the fine example of pattern phenomena manifest in the adjustment of all kinds of ceremonies, original or borrowed, to this scheme of two sides and alternate leadership.[1] Based upon this fundamental pattern are two distinct patterns of organization: the lance-bearing societies and medicinemen's associations. From the preceding concrete accounts it is clear that all of the lance organizations must have been constructed or adjusted to the plan of some one parent society. The same may be said of the medicinemen's associations. We have commented upon the apparent dual division of chiefs and medicinemen (p. 639), the bundle scheme being the province of the former and to which the medicinemen were individually subject, but professionally formed a second half for social control. This duality is seen in the organization of all bundles and related societies under the four-pole ceremony and in like manner the organization of the medicinemen under the twenty-day ceremony. Here again is clearly a similarity of pattern in the coordination schemes for two groups of activities.

Another important conception of the Pawnee is the bundle sanction. Thus, as keeper of the village bundle the chief rules by a kind of "divine right," the highest exponent of which is the priest of the bundle, or the keeper of the ritual. The hunt and the raising of grain were each guarded over and governed by virtue of bundle rituals. A lance society performed no public function except under the sanction of one of the bundles. Furthermore, the federation itself was based upon superior or leading bundles, from which the chiefs and priests derived their authority. One must suspect that the conception of a bundle sanction was so fundamental with the Pawnee, that the first step toward a federation was of necessity the creation of a series of superior bundles.

In keeping with the foregoing conceptions is the hereditary system. Chiefs, priests, members of societies, etc. serve for life and endeavor to qualify some of their brothers and nephews to succeed them. In most organizations there were certain tests applied to the candidate for the ejection of the theoretically unfit, but these first chances were given to those whose brothers or uncles had been admitted to membership; likewise the priests of bundles must be those competent to perform the ritual, but here again the preference was given to maternal relatives. The important position of chief, or official keeper of the village bundle, was regarded as strictly hereditary to the next of kin, though incompetents were encouraged to decline the honor in favor of the next heir.

[1] A kind of dual leadership is found in many societies of the Ogiala and Blackfoot, as shown in the preceding pages, but without any ceremonial associations or counterparts in other ceremonies, from which we infer that it reached these tribes as an objective part of a borrowed system.

575 616 756 796 631 778 611 [171]

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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mission to have young Murie take his place in the ceremonial circuit in the lodge with the understanding that he be made chief on the death of Skidi-Good-Chief, thus continuing the Pumpkin-Vine village in the circuit.

A marriage outside the village occurred about sixty years ago [sixty years prior to 1907], and, as the result bears directly on the question of descent, the facts are worth quoting. A man of the Pumpkin-Vine village, having obtained the consent of his uncles, married a young woman of the Morning-Star village. He lived with his wife in the Morning-Star village for several years, during which time he made sacrifices to the Morning-Star bundle and learned its ceremony. Then he returned to his own village and took his children with him, the children being considered members of the Pumpkin-Vine village. But while living in the Morning-Star village he was considered to have obtained certain rights in that bundle, and he demanded recognition of these rights. On his return to his own village, the Morning-Star bundle was divided, and he carried part of it to the Pumpkin-Vine village. Thus, there exist today two Morning-Star bundles. The ultimate fate of his half of the Morning-Star bundle is interesting. His children all died except one daughter, who married Leader, a member of the Coyote-in-Water village [Wolves-Standing-in-Water village?], who claims ownership in the bundle today. She came by it in this manner: On the death of the husband—that is, the member of the Pumpkin-Vine village—his widow lived with her daughter's husband; she, as keeper of this Morning-Star bundle, ultimately turned it over to her daughter, whose husband, Leader, a member of the Coyote-in-Water village, learned its ceremony and sacrificed scalps to it and so claimed it. Thus it happens today that the priests of Coyote-in-Water village and the Pumpkin-Vine village have a right to be present when either of the Morning-Star bundles is opened.

[This statement that descent in the village group followed the paternal line is in direct contradiction to a later one by Murie. In his report on Pawnee societies (1914), Murie wrote: "... if a man married a woman from another village, he must go there to live. His children were always considered members of the mother's village." The contradiction may be due to confusing the inheritance of sacred bundles, which generally followed the paternal line, and descent in a village group, which may well have been maternal. Also, in cases where the inheritance of a sacred bundle was involved, the pattern of descent might have been modified in favor of patri-

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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lineal reckoning. Finally, there is the possibility that descent may have altered during the long period of white contact. In any case, if the villages formerly tended to be endogamous, the question of descent in the village group would arise only as the result of infrequent inter-village marriages.]

Each village possessed a sacred bundle of its own, except that one village, the Four-Band village, had four such bundles. Where it has been possible to obtain the legend telling the origin of a village it appears that a star, or a group of stars, was responsible for the birth of the founder, or founders, of a village. The sacred bundle of the village either was given to the founder by the star or was made by the founder according to instructions from the star. The bundle itself was owned by the village chief, though his wife was the keeper, and a priest took charge of the rituals connected with it.

[The ceremonies associated with these sacred bundles gave each village a separate and distinct unity and also brought it into the ceremonial organization of the band as a whole. However, two Skidi villages never entered completely into the larger organization of the band. The complex ceremonial life of the Skidi is not fully elucidated in the Dorsey-Murie manuscript, but, so far as I can determine, the sacred bundle ceremonies fell into the following categories: (1) Those ceremonies that were the exclusive property of individual villages and were performed in connection with the individual village bundles; (2) those that related to the band and centered around two bundles belonging to the whole band, not to a single village; and (3) a group of ceremonies, including an annual cycle, that involved both village and band bundles, and were also considered as referring to the welfare of the band generally. Of this last group the ceremonies associated with the four bundles of the Four-Band village were of great importance.

According to a statement in the manuscript, the names of the villages and the names of the bundles were not the same and formerly had nothing to do with each other. Some of the villages were extinct and their bundles gone by 1907, and it apparently proved impossible to obtain a complete list of the names of the thirteen villages, as well as those of their respective bundles. In some cases, either the village or the bundle name had been forgotten. This gave rise to some confusion, for apparently some of the villages were remembered by their bundle names, and some of the bundles by their village names. It is probably for this reason that the village names published by Dorsey (1907b) and Murie (1914) do not entirely

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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62 798 103 agree, nor does Murie's account agree with this manuscript. In his paper on Pawnee Societies, Murie lists a village named Black-Ear-of-Corn. According to the present manuscript this is an alternative term for a bundle called Fools-the-Wolves, belonging to a village of the same name. Also, Murie has a Fish-Hawk village, which according to the manuscript is the bundle of the Village-in-the-Woods (Village-in-Thick-Timber). Finally, he lists one village not mentioned here, its English equivalent being given as Village-on-a-Branch-of-a-River. In place of these last two, this report names the Pumpkin-Vine village and the Wolves-Standing-in-Water village. Murie mentions both of these but states that they were independent and does not include them in his list of the thirteen Skidi villages. His account implies that there were fifteen known Skidi villages in all. Though the present manuscript agrees as to the relative independence of the Pumpkin-Vine and Wolves-Standing-in-Water villages, it lists them as part of the thirteen villages belonging to the Skidi band. It should also be noted that Dorsey (1904, p. xviii) stated that there were nineteen villages; however, he did not give their names and reduced the number to thirteen in a later publication (1907b). There are no other important disagreements between the published statements of Dorsey and Murie and the present notes, except that Murie's Old village is here called the Four-Band village.]

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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844 the midwife, it was said that the child was afraid of her and so hurried and was born before she came. On the other hand, if the birth were delayed and the confined woman in great pain, it was the duty of her relatives to send for one or two other women to assist the midwife. These helped in trying to hasten the birth. If they failed, the medicine-men were called. The latter came into the lodge [765] with gourd rattles and sang their medicine songs. Then they gave medicine to the woman. If it was time for her to give birth, it was thought that delivery would speedily follow; if it was not time, she would at least be relieved.

In delivery the woman usually rested on her knees, leaning forward on a stick brought for that purpose by the midwife. Those of high rank, belonging to the Four-Band village, were always permitted to use a short round stake from the Northeast, or Big [778] Black Meteoric-Star bundle, on which was fastened a buffalo scalp [821] containing a chart of the constellations, and which was supposed to have the effect of making delivery exceedingly easy.

When the child was born, the midwife cut the umbilical cord, [465] using a new knife given her as part of her pay. She rubbed ashes upon the cord until it shrank, then she twisted it around upon the child's navel, and tied a string around it. Contrary to the custom much in vogue among the Plains Indians, the mother retained the cord, wrapping it in a buckskin in a work-box; it was buried with her and never given to the child.

846 The midwife then washed the infant with warm water and dried [854] it with buffalo wool, wrapped it in a blanket, and placed it on a [553] cradleboard. Next she bestowed a name upon the baby and gave it to the mother's relatives. The afterbirth she disposed of in the following manner: placing it on a bunch of grass, and wrapping it in a piece of tanned buffalo-hide, she carried it outside into the woods. There she put it on a tree, saying: "I place this afterbirth upon you, that the animals may not eat it, nor the birds. You stand here firmly; let this child that I have attended grow up without sickness to be a man (or woman)." Next she said to the afterbirth: "I place you securely upon this tree, so that nothing will touch you, and so that you will turn into dust. If the mother who is sick yonder should give birth to another, make the delivery easy." The midwife then returned to the lodge.

After the dried cord broke off from the child's navel, the baby was washed in the little wooden bowl and turned over to the mother. The old woman who had acted as midwife combed and braided the

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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and obtain a scalp. This was carried home to the village on a pole, and scalp dances were inaugurated. The scalp was consecrated to one of the deities of the heavens, and the man who had taken it wrapped a piece of it in a small buckskin sack with tobacco. This was tied to a long stick representing an arrow and thrust into the grave. Another small piece of the scalp was burned upon the grave.

The name of a dead person could not be mentioned during the mourning period. If anyone mentioned the name of an individual who had been killed in war, it was thought that he would probably suffer the same fate as the person killed.

Reference has been made to the fact that personal belongings were buried with the dead. However, there were certain exceptions to this practice. Personal war bundles containing meteorites or any objects supposed to have had their origin in the heavens were not buried. This was in accordance with the belief that these objects belonged in the heavens and not in the ground. Hence, when an individual possessing such objects died, and if the relatives did not want them, the bundle was unwrapped and the objects were placed on a high hill, whence they returned to the heavens. Such objects were supposed to be the children of stars, watched over by them, and it was believed that when people had no further use for these "children," they would return to their parents in the sky. Also, if a medicine-man died during the time he was giving instruction to his son, his medicine bundle was retained for the boy's use when he became of age.

A further illustration of the burial of belongings with the dead is contained in the following incident. A Skidi chief's daughter died. The father had received calumet pipe sticks from the Chaui band, and his daughter had participated in the ceremony accompanying the gift. Her death followed shortly after the ceremony and was attributed to the belief that the ceremony had not been properly performed. Consequently, over her grave her father placed the pipe sticks, oriole's nest, wildcat skin, gourd rattles, and tobacco bag that comprised the special objects used in the ceremony. That year drought prevailed, the crops withered, buffalo could not be found, and the Skidi were forced to depend on their cache reserves. The Chaui priest who had originally brought the pipe sticks visited the Skidi, and with the chief to whom he had presented them, went to the grave, removed the ceremonial objects, wrapped them in a bundle, and taking the earth from over the body, placed the bundle next to it. He then re-filled the grave. Shortly after, there

5: Dorsey & Murie E,I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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came a great rain storm accompanied by thunder. The Chaui priest sent for the Skidi chief, and after a feast told him it was very wrong to put the calumet pipe sticks on the grave, and that if he should ever lose another child and "desired to throw away the pipe sticks, they should be buried in the grave and not on it."

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON BEHAVIOR

Many of the Skidi tales bear witness to an unusual form of friendly attachment which often bound two young men or two young women together for life. In this formally recognized type of friendship each shared the other's joys and griefs. It was especially common between young men, and invariably resulted in their taking perilous journeys together on hunting and fighting expeditions. Such friendships, however, never extended to sharing each other's wives.

The respect paid to old men and women was very great, particularly to old men who had been priests. Aged medicine-men were feared lest they exert their mysterious power. As a rule old people without relatives were well cared for, and there is no evidence that they were ever put to death.

Women who were the daughters of medicine-men generally claimed a knowledge of roots and practiced medicine in their old age. They also served as midwives. The position of woman among the Skidi seems at first anomalous. According to tradition and to the priests it is claimed that her creation antedated that of man. Of the sexes she is the one who acts; the other one thinks. While her position in the political and religious life of the Skidi was not great, for she could be neither priest nor chief and had nothing to say in their councils, yet she undoubtedly commanded considerable respect. She was keeper of the fire, the altar place, and the sacred bundle. Her reward for looking after the crops, staying at home and keeping the lodge clean, sacrificing corn upon the altar, and keeping the bundle clean and sweet-smelling was immunity from disease, freedom from the fear of enemies raiding the village, and protection against miscarriage, stillbirth, and the evil effects of bad animals that might influence her children.

The white man's ideas of modesty were not recognized by the Skidi. Both sexes bathed together. Children went naked until well advanced in years. In former times the men went naked in the lodge. Conversation between the sexes was without restriction, no subject or coyote tale being considered too indelicate to be told with

5: Dorsey & Murie E,I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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the desire to take scalps and capture ponies and is no longer fit to be chief. In the words of my informant: "Tirawa, after having created people, gave them their bundles and said to the chief: 'You are to be like me; you are to have many people to look after; you are to be guardian of the people on earth and the beings of the heavens will do your bidding.'" The custom did not prevail among the Skidi of making the chief an offering of food when on the hunt. He was obliged to look after himself, and could not claim more than the share which he himself or those riding his horses had won in the chase.

Like other societies, that of the chiefs had two errand men whose duty it was to look after the fire, prepare and distribute meat, and light the pyre for the smoke offerings. In his own village each chief also had at his command two errand men who performed similar duties.

In addition to the hereditary chief, each village had one or more *nahikuts*, or braves, whose number was usually four but varied according to the size of the village. The duty of these men was that of servants of the chiefs; they followed their directions, preserved order, helped in carrying out the laws of the band, and assisted in the preparation of the ceremonies. Their badge of office was a war-club or tomahawk. They held office for life. They were also considered as servants of the Morning Star, and like the other warriors of each village obtained their power directly from him or from some animal or spirit under the guidance of the Morning Star.

Another high-ranking class were the *narawiraris*, or warriors. These men had reached this position by their own efforts. They had made a certain number of sacrifices and thus won a victory over the powers of the heavens. They were eligible to election as chiefs and had the right to sit near the priest in ceremonies. When going on the warpath, such men had the privilege of wearing the sacred warrior's costume of the warrior's bundle. The position of warrior was said to have been created in the beginning, at which time the warrior was given five things—the otter skin, the hawk skin, the leg of an eagle, the eagle feather, and the sacred red paint made from red earth and buffalo fat. In using these objects, he was to attach the eagle leg to his belt, wear the eagle feather, and put the otter skin over his head, the hawk skin on his right shoulder, and the paint on his face. In painting his face he was to make three dots above his nose in the center of his forehead, to represent the claw of the eagle's foot. He was to use the black otter because it was from the water, was

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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very swift, and symbolized the dangerous cyclone coming from the clouds. The hawk skin was used because the hawk was made to be powerful and killed its prey with its wings, which were symbolic of a war club. [The hawk kills its prey with its knuckles rather than its wings.]

PRIESTS

As the chief gave the people instruction and advice in worldly matters, so the priest, who controlled the ritual attached to the sacred village bundle, kept the society en rapport with the supernatural. The priestly class among the Skidi comprised the most learned men of the tribe. They were required to have prodigious memories and were said to swallow every song. In addition to those sung at ceremonies, the priests recited rituals of instruction for the changing of names, and others having to do with agriculture, the hunt, and the warpath. They served as go-betweens in weddings, and in general played a great part in the social life of the village. Inasmuch as the office of priest required above all an extraordinarily retentive memory and a deeply religious attitude of mind, the priests often encouraged young men possessing these qualifications to become their pupils and ultimately admitted the students to the priestly class. The priest's life was shortened or lengthened in accordance with the sacrifices he made and by his zeal in guarding the esoteric knowledge entrusted to him. For him to speak of the secrets of the altar trivially or on ordinary occasions was to shorten his life.

Associated with the priests were errand men and criers. The latter were old men who had spent a great part of their lives in the performance of sacrifices and who were entitled to announce ceremonies and recite rituals of instruction, particularly those referring to creation, through the village. Their share of the ceremonial feasts was great and in proportion to the honor in which they were held. For a child to mock them or to imitate their intonation or to treat them with disrespect was to incur a severe beating from the parents. The errand men, two in each lodge, stationed on the north and south sides by the entrance, assisted in the ceremonies by building the fire and replenishing it, acting as messengers for the priests in summoning the participants of a ceremony, and so forth. Like the priests and criers, they also received a share of the feast which might be distributed at the conclusion of a ceremony.

5: Dorsey & Murie E,I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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MEDICINE-MEN

Like the chief and the priest, the medicine-man held a position of honor among the Skidi. His office was supposed to have been created by Tirawa immediately after he had instituted the office of chief, at which time Tirawa said: "I shall give you (chief) a companion who will understand certain beings who command all the spirits of the earth. He shall learn from them the different curative powers, and shall be your equal, but he will not command, for it will be his duty to wait on the sick." At this time Tirawa gave the medicine-man the blue clay he wore over his body during ceremonies, the wing of a black eagle to be used in his left hand, and a gourd rattle to be held in his right.

The medicine-men derived their powers from supernatural beings who were usually identified with animals. At birth a child came under the influence of a supernatural being—a particular star shining especially bright—who was supposed to manifest himself later in the child's life. Usually this manifestation occurred when the child fell ill, at which time medicine-men were sent for. When the right one appeared, he could cure the child, for he possessed the power from an animal which in turn had received its power from the star noted above. Thus the child was made aware of the particular animal guardian which was to influence his career. When he grew to be a young man he might become a medicine-man through a supernatural experience during which power was given him directly by his guardian, or, as was more common, he applied for instruction to some medicine-man who had received power from the same guardian. With the latter's consent, the young man became his pupil, paying for the knowledge received. [Further details regarding medicine-men have been published by Linton, 1923b.]

In many ways the medicine-men ingratiated themselves with the people. One of the best examples occurred during the fall performance of the great ceremony of the Skidi medicine-men. On the first night they visited all the village lodges containing sacred altars, and on the following night made a general tour of the village offering their services free of charge.

THE COMMON PEOPLE

This group probably represented less than one-half the members of the band. They were distinguished by the fact that they were without influence or power, their lodges were smaller and not so completely furnished, they had few or no ponies, and were often the objects of charity.

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105 The tools, weapons, and utensils of the Pawnee [171] differed little from those of the other Plains tribes, but they understood the arts of pottery-making and bas- 291 ket-weaving. During the summer the men usually wore only a loin cloth and moccasins, adding leggings and a robe in winter. The women wore moccasins, leggings, and a skirt made from a buffalo hide tanned on both sides. Upper garments other than the robe do not seem to have been worn in ancient times. The 302 men stiffened their hair with paint and fat, and made 301 it into the form of a curved horn. Both sexes pierced the ears, and often wore large numbers of ear-rings. 342 In their permanent villages the Pawnee lived in earth lodges (see Leaflet "Annual Dance of the Medicine Men"), but when on the hunt they occupied tipis of the sort used by all the Plains tribes.

631 The Pawnee were divided into four sub-tribes or bands, the Chaui, Pitahauerat, Kitkehahki, and Skidi. The first three of these were closely related, but the Skidi differed somewhat from their associates, and considered themselves more closely related to the Arikara, another Caddoan tribe, who lived some dis- [361] tance to the north. In their settlements along the river, the four bands preserved a regular order, the Skidi being farthest upstream, the Pitahauerat farthest downstream, and the other two bands between. Each 621 band was divided into a number of villages which were social as well as geographical units. All the members of a village believed themselves to be descended from a single ancestor, and marriages were usually made within the group. Descent was reckoned in the female [778] line. Each village possessed a shrine (bundle) con- [793] taining sacred objects, and priests who had charge of the rituals and ceremonies connected with these ob- 622 jects. It was ruled over by a hereditary chief and a council composed of its leading men. If the chief was a man of character and ability, he exercised undisputed

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776 transmitted the mandates of Tirawa to the people upon earth. From her union with the god of next rank, the Morning Star, Opirikata, sprang the first being upon earth.

The Morning Star seems to have been a personification of the Male, as the Evening Star was of the female principle. He was conceived of as a warrior who drove the other stars before him from the sky. It was [782] to him that the Skidi band offered a human sacrifice.

Next in rank to the Evening and Morning Stars were the gods of the four world-quarters, who stood in the northeast, southeast, southwest, and northwest, and supported the heavens. To them Tirawa gave the task of dividing up the earth into the divisions which we find at present. Next in rank to these were the three gods of the north,—the North Star, who presided over the council of the stars, and who gave the ceremony for the creation of chiefs to men; the North Wind, who sent men the buffalo, and Hikus, who gave the breath of life. Below these in turn were the Sun and Moon, from whose union had sprung the second being on earth who, mating with the offspring of the Morning and Evening Stars, produced the human race.

There were a number of minor heavenly gods,—the second Morning Star, who assisted the Morning Star, the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star, who was the special god of medicine-men, the Star of the South, who stood at the southern end of the Milky Way and received the spirits of the dead, Skiritiuhuts ("Fool-Wolf"), who felt slighted in the councils of the gods, and, who, in revenge, introduced death into the world, and several others.

The greater part of the heavenly gods were iden- [778 tified with stars. The sacred bundle of each village 361] was believed to have been given to its ancestor by one of these heavenly beings; and when the villages of the

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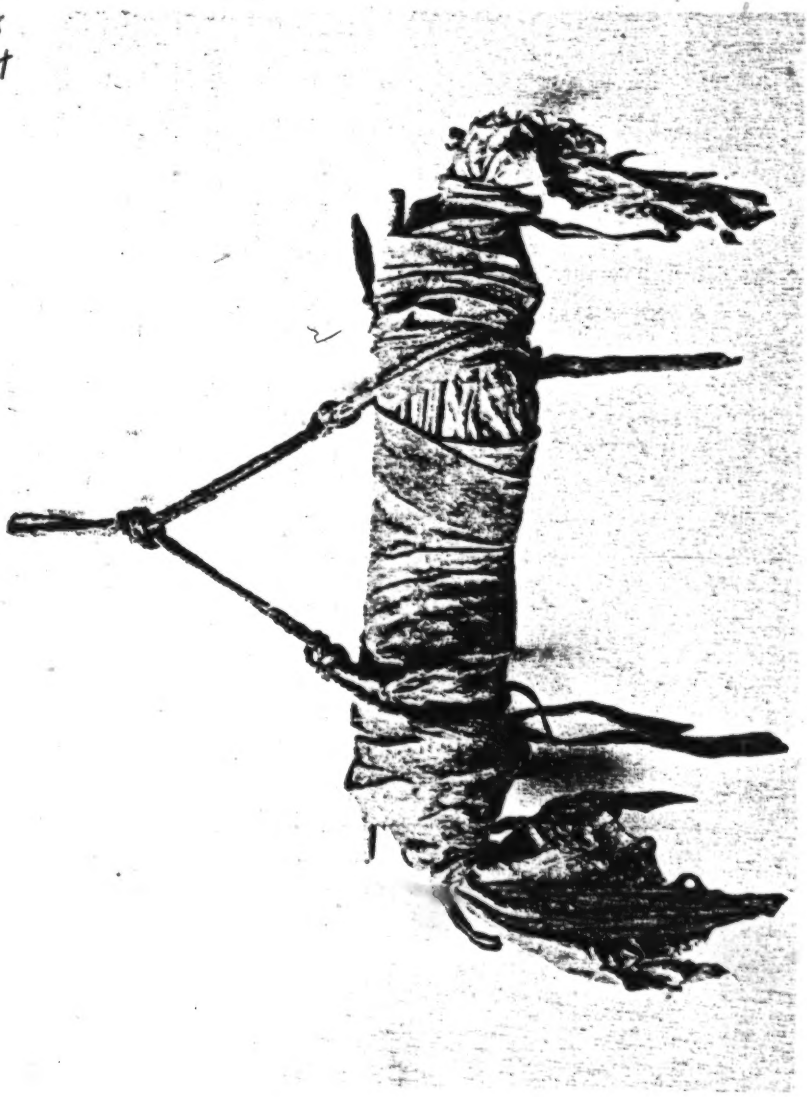

A SACRED BUNDLE OF THE PAWNEE.

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band assembled for ceremonies, they arranged themselves according to the positions of their guardian stars in the heavens. [778 361] 776

Only less powerful than the gods of the heavens were the gods of the earth. These were for the most part identified with animals in the same way that the heavenly gods were identified with stars. The earthly gods were organized into four lodges each of which had its leaders and its messengers, who served as intermediaries between the earthly gods and men. In these lodges they gathered in council to make or mar the fortunes of men, and to them favored mortals were taken to be instructed in the mysteries of earth-craft. The earthly gods were the special patrons of medicine-men and warriors.

The religious ceremonies of the Pawnee were numerous and varied. They may be divided into two main classes,—ceremonies, which were in charge of societies whose members had certain secrets in common, and ceremonies which were participated in by the whole village, band, or tribe. To the first class belong the ceremonies of the warrior societies and the medicine-men. To the second class belong those which had to do with the welfare of the people. 796

Practically all the ceremonies of the second class centered about collections of sacred objects, called by the whites sacred bundles. Each village possessed one of these bundles, and there were two additional bundles which were the property of the whole tribe. The objects in the bundles varied, but had a general similarity, each bundle containing at least one pipe, tobacco, paints, the skins of certain birds, and the Mother-Corn. The last consisted of two ears of corn, which were the most sacred objects in the bundle. When not in use, the objects were wrapped in a buffalo hide and hung from the wall of the lodge. In connec- 796 778

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tion with the bundle there were certain taboos which were rigidly enforced.

The ceremonies connected with the sacred bundles seem to fall into three divisions,—those ceremonies which were the common property of all the bundles and taken together formed the tribal ceremonial year; those ceremonies which were the property of the village bundles, and were open primarily to members of the village, and those ceremonies relating to the two bundles which were the property of the tribe as a whole. The rituals of the bundle-ceremonies were the property of certain priests, but members of the village or tribe who assisted in the performance of the ceremony had a right to know at least part of the meaning of the ritual.

All the ceremonies connected with sacred bundles seem to have had as their underlying idea a repetition, either through ritual or dramatization, of acts performed by supernatural beings during the mythologic age. As a rule, the ritual predominated, the dramatization playing only a minor part. The ritual was a formal method of restating the acts of the supernatural beings, and served the double purpose of redirecting their attention toward the people and of reminding the people of the deeds done for them by the gods. In this way the relationship between men and the supernatural world was renewed; and the gods, pleased with the attention bestowed upon them, continued their protection over the people. Coupled with practically all the ceremonies there was some form of offering or sacrifice, this idea reaching its climax in the Skidi sacrifice of a maiden to the Morning Star.

The bundles and their accompanying ceremonies collectively regulated and made provision for all the necessities of life during the year. All the bundle-ceremonies were held during the spring, summer, or

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autumn. In winter the gods were thought to have withdrawn from the earth. The first thunder in the spring was thought to be a notification that they had once more turned their attention to it, and the people at once held a ceremony of welcome,—the Thunder Ceremony. This ceremony ushered in the ceremonial year, and was followed in regular order by a number of others. First came the ceremony called Paruxti, by which the deity of that name was supposed to be called to earth, and at which sacred corn was shelled and given to the people for seed corn. Immediately after this followed the ceremony, called the Planting of the Corn. When the first shoots of the new crop had appeared, a ceremony called Going After the Plant was performed. In the autumn there was a Harvest Ceremony, followed by the ceremony known as the Making of New Mother Corn, at which the Mother-Corn in all the bundles was renewed. In addition to these seasonal ceremonies there were a number of others whose time was not fixed.

The so-called Thunder Ceremony ushered in the ceremonial year. Although neither the most important or the most elaborate of the Pawnee ceremonies, it was, more than any other, at the bottom of their ceremonial life. It paved the way for the ceremonies of agriculture and the rites for the calling of the buffalo. It promoted the well-being of the tribe, and was efficacious in driving back the malignant being of the southwest, the bringer of disease. It instructed the people as to their duties and privileges in their relationship to the deities, and finally it afforded many opportunities for direct communication with the deities themselves in a number of rites of sacrifice which formed an intrinsic part of the ceremony as a whole.

The first thunder in the spring was thought to be the voice of Paruxti, a deity who was the messenger of

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LEAFLET NUMBER 6

The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee

The religion of the Pawnee was, in some ways, more highly developed than that of any of the other Plains tribes. At the head of their pantheon stood Tirawa, the creator of the universe, who seems to have been conceived of as a purely spiritual being. Below him there were a great number of gods of varying importance who were divided into two great classes, those of the earth and those of the heavens. The former were inferior in rank to the heavenly gods, and were the special guardians of individuals and secret societies. They were, for the most part, identified with animals. The latter were the guardians and helpers of the people as a whole and were, with a few exceptions, identified with stars. The most important of the heavenly gods were the Morning and Evening Stars, who represented respectively the male and female principle. The first being on earth was believed to have sprung from their union. A fuller account of Pawnee mythology will be found in Leaflet 5 "The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee."

The ceremonial side of Pawnee religion showed an equally high development. The worship of the heavenly gods centered around collections of sacred objects called by the whites sacred bundles. Each village possessed one of these bundles, and there were others which were the property of the tribe as a whole. It was believed that each bundle had been given to the people in ancient times by one of the heavenly beings,

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778 and therefore constituted a link between the people
796 and its divine giver. In the ceremonies connected with these bundles two ideas were basic,—one the idea of a sacrifice or offering, and the other that of a repetition, either through dramatization or ritual, of the acts performed by the divine giver. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star combined both ideas to an unusual degree.

175 The Morning Star sacrifice was performed only
782 by the Skidi band of the Pawnee. There seems good
796 evidence that it was carried out somewhat unwillingly, and that the officiating priests always found it a sore trial. Its performance was considered a religious duty, and this ceremony must not be confused with the torturing of captives as practised by several of the eastern tribes. The opposition to the sacrifice within the tribe itself increased until in about 1818 a young man, named Petahlayshahrho, rescued the victim in dramatic fashion, untying her from the scaffold at the moment of sacrifice and riding away with her. When safe, he gave her a horse, and sent her back to her own people. He then returned and declared that human sacrifices must cease. As he was a distinguished warrior and the son of the chief's sister, which according to the Pawnee system gave him the hereditary rignt to succeed his uncle, many strong men in the tribe supported his action. After this time, the ritual of the [178] sacrifice was still regularly performed as a formal matter, but no actual sacrifices are known to have taken place.

796 The actual time of the performance of the sacrifice is not fully known, but it seems to have been made in the late spring or summer of years when Mars was [787] morning star. It was usually made as the result of [821] a dream or vision in which the Morning Star appeared to some warrior and demanded it, but it might also be

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721 tume and sacred objects kept in the bundle for such
796 expeditions. Many warriors usually volunteered to go with him, for it was thought that the object of the expedition insured its success.

726 When the party had assembled, they set out for the
796 country of the enemy, sending scouts constantly in advance. If they killed any game on the way, they offered part of it to the Morning Star to remind him that they were on his business. The leader carried the sacred objects from the Morning Star bundle on his back.

When the scouts returned with word that they had found an enemy village, the party retired to some sheltered place and prepared for a ceremony. A circle was cleared, and a fireplace excavated as for a lodge. The leader then opened his pack and put on the sacred warrior's costume, and laid out the other objects to the west of the fireplace. A fire was kindled, and smoke offered to the heavenly gods. All then sang a song symbolizing the overcoming of the Evening Star by the Morning Star and how, from their union, a girl was born. In the course of this song the leader rose and circled the fireplace, acting in pantomime the journey of the Morning Star. At its conclusion he passed out of the circle, and standing facing the east addressed the Morning Star as follows: "I am praying to you as you directed, and we are seeking a sacrifice as you wished. I ask you to show yourself." In answer to this prayer the star was thought to shine with brighter light. The leader then addressed his party thus:—

"Warriors, young men, we are now sitting in a place dedicated to the Morning Star. We are about to sing the song that the Morning Star himself sang when he was in search of a woman, who put obstacles in his way. I want you all to dance with all your might and to be brave. Whoever shall be so lucky as to catch

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LEAFLET NUMBER 7

Purification of the Sacred Bundles, a Ceremony of the Pawnee

The religious beliefs of the Pawnee, which seem, in some ways, to have been on a higher plane than those of the other Plains tribes, have been described in Leaflet 5 of this series, under the title "The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee." At the head of their pantheon stood Tirawa, a purely spiritual being, who was not identified with any animal, object, or natural phenomenon. Below him there were a great number of gods of lesser rank who were divided into two great classes,—the gods of the heavens and the gods of the earth. The former were, for the most part, identified with the stars, the Evening Star holding the highest place, with the Morning Star second. The former was an embodiment of all the female, the latter of all the male, attributes. The gods of the earth were, for the most part, identified with animals, and their rank was less rigidly fixed. Of the two groups the heavenly gods were the more important, and were considered the guardians of the people as a whole, while the earthly gods were more especially the guardians of individuals and secret societies. 796

The ceremonies held in honor of the heavenly gods centered around collections of sacred objects called by the whites sacred bundles or medicine bundles. The Skidi Pawnee called them *chuhraraperu*, meaning 778

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"rains-wrapped-up." The tribe was divided into a number of villages all of whose members traced their descent in the female line from a single ancestor. Each of these villages possessed a sacred bundle, while there were two others which were considered the property of the tribe as a whole. The Four Direction village had four sacred bundles one of which was sacred to each of the cardinal points. These points were, to the Pawnee, southwest, southeast, northwest, and northeast. The sacred bundle of each village was believed to have been given to its first ancestor by one of the heavenly beings, and constituted a link between its members and the divine donor. From their traditions the "gift" seems to have consisted rather in explicit directions for its making than in an actual presentation of the objects. The bundles were inherited in the female line so that their owners were always women. Their keepers, and the priests who performed their ceremonies, were, on the other hand, men.

All the village bundles contained much the same objects. The most important of these were one or two ears of corn, which were called Mother-Corn and were believed to give life to the bundle. They were shelled in the spring and distributed for seed, being replaced at harvest time. When the Mother-Corn consisted of two ears, one of these was attached to a stick and symbolized the male element or Morning Star, while the other symbolized the female element or Evening Star. Next in importance to the Mother-Corn were the tobacco-filled skins of hawks and owls. The hawk symbolized a warrior; the owl, a chief, because it was always awake and watchful. The owl seems to have also symbolized the watchfulness of Tirawa, the supreme being. One or more scalps, taken from slain enemies, were found in every bundle. Pieces cut from them were used in various ceremonies, and they had to be renewed from time to time. Four skins, each of

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which contained red, black, and white paint in little buckskin pouches; sweet grass, a pipe and native tobacco, and the penis bone of a racoon, were also placed in each bundle, all these objects being used in the ceremonies. The sweet grass was burned as incense, and the bone was attached to a stick and used as a fork to remove meat from the pot. Some bundles contained additional objects. 778

When the bundle was not in use, all these articles were done up in an inner and an outer wrapper of buffalo hide and tied with a rope of plaited buffalo-hair. To the outside of the bundle were attached the stems of one or more pipes whose bowls were in the bundle, a few arrows captured from the enemy, and some other objects. The arrows were used as fire pokers and pipe tampers during the ceremonies. In ceremonial smoking it was forbidden to press down the tobacco in the pipe with the finger lest the gods should think that the smoker offered himself to them with the tobacco. Associated with each bundle, and often fastened to it, there were four large gourd rattles of special form. These symbolized the four dieties who were the special guardians of the Evening Star, and also represented the breasts of the two divine women in the west,—the Evening Star and the Moon. [276 782]

Except at the time of ceremonies, the sacred bundle was hung up on the west side of its keeper's lodge, above the buffalo skull which was always placed there. When so hung, it was likened by the Pawnee to a dead man in his grave. The spirit lived in it, but slept. Even when opened, the bundle continued asleep until the Mother-Corn had been placed in it. It then came to life, and during the ceremony the corn and the other objects represented, individually and collectively, supernatural beings. These beliefs of the Pawnee differ considerably from those held by most of the other tribes who used sacred bundles; and Dr. G. A. Dorsey [071]

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171 has concluded that the village bundles of the Pawnee
778 are more nearly comparable to the elaborate altars of the Southwestern Indians than to the medicine bundles of the northern Plains tribes and Central Algonkins.

778 It seems probable that there was originally a special
796 ceremony connected with each bundle. There were additional ceremonies, such as that held when the first thunder was heard in the spring, which might be performed with several bundles in turn, and there were a few rites in which all the bundles participated. The
[783] purification of the sacred bundles belonged to the last class.

778 The purification ceremony was held in the spring
783 and again in the autumn, before the tribe left their permanent villages for the buffalo hunt. It has already been said that the Four Direction village had four sacred bundles. These took the lead in successive years. When the chiefs had decided upon the date for departure on the hunt, they notified the priest of the bundle which was leader in that year. He sent his errand man to summon the priests of the other three bundles. These came to his lodge, bringing their bundles with them. As they entered, they beat their bundles, then crossed to the west side of the lodge, and seated themselves with their bundles in front of them on the ground. The errand man was then sent to summon the keepers of all the other village bundles, directing them to bring their bundles and also mats, pillows, and food-bowls. When these arrived at the lodge, they took designated places around it, spreading their mats on the ground and hanging their bundles, unopened, on the wall behind them.

783 When all had arrived, one of the four priests went through the village announcing the beginning of the ceremony and calling on the people to bring gifts to
[782] Mother-Corn. These gifts consisted of a robe, moccasins, a hair cord, to be used as a girdle, and dried meat

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and fat. The articles of clothing had to be new and unused, and the meat that of buffalo which had been dedicated to the gods at the time they were killed. The gifts could only be presented by men who were in favor with the gods. If the priests accepted them from men who were evil in their lives or negligent in their religious duties, the gods would be offended and refuse to send the buffalo. Before taking a gift to the lodge, a man painted himself red, so that all the people might know his errand; and, when the gift had been accepted, two messengers went through the village, thanking him publicly.

The priests and bundle keepers remained in the lodge for three days and nights, sleeping in their designated places. No ceremonies seem to have been performed during this period, and they passed the time in talk and in feasting on the food which was brought to them. No women were allowed to enter the lodge during the whole time of the ceremony.

On the morning of the fourth day the priests of the Four Direction bundles rose very early and dug a rectangular pit to the west of the fire-place, between it and the permanent altar of the lodge. The buffalo skull, which at ordinary times stood on this altar, was removed and placed north of the fire-place. The earth from the excavation was taken outside the lodge and piled in a mound before the door. When the pit was finished, the priests carpeted it with white downy feathers. This pit seems to have corresponded to the pit dug below the scaffold at the time of the human sacrifice to the Morning Star and, like it, represented the Evening Star's garden in the west, the source of all earthly fertility and increase.

When the pit had been completed, the priests directed the keepers of the various bundles to open them and take out the Mother-Corn. A sacred stick, kept in the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star bundle, was set up

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778 just east of the pit. The keeper of that bundle then
783 brought the Mother-Corn from it and placed it in the pit, thrusting the stick to which the male ear was attached into the earth so that it stood upright and leaning the other ear against its base. The keepers of the other bundles then came forward in turn and did the same. A wooden bowl filled with water was then placed to the east of the pit, between it and the fire-place. A clam shell was laid in the bowl, and a turtle, supported by a framework of sticks, was placed upon it. To the northeast and northwest of the bowl [825] were laid the heads and necks of loons, to the southeast the head and neck of a swan, and to the southwest a gar fish. The meaning of these objects is not perfectly understood. The bowl seems to have represented earth and water; the turtle, fire and also one of the important earthly gods. The loons and swan represented earthly gods, guardians of medicine men; and the gar fish, the great sea monster which first gave the medicine men's ceremony to human beings.

After these objects had been arranged, the chief priest selected four men to sit at the northeast, northwest, southeast and southwest corners of the bowl. The sacred stick from the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star bundle, and a star chart, kept in a bag attached to that bundle, were taken outside and placed on the mound in front of the doorway. The priest then took four smooth stones from the same bundle and gave one to each of the four men. These stones were extremely sacred, and were believed to have been given to the people at the beginning of the world. They were pro- [482] vided with withe handles so that they could be carried without touching them. When they had been distributed, the priest said, "It is now time for these men to go outside and look at the heavens and over the earth. They will take with them these four stones, which were given to our people when the earth was

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created." Turning to the men, he told them to rise and go out of the lodge. When they had risen, he went to the man who stood on the northeast and gave him the sacred pipe from the bundle which was the leader in that year and a strip of dried buffalo fat about one foot long and four inches wide. After this the men passed out of the lodge, while the priests sang a song describing their looking at the heavens and earth. 778 783

The four men seated themselves around the mound of earth taken from the pit in the same positions they had occupied around the bowl in the lodge. An errand man then kindled a small fire to the east of the mound, and the man who sat on the northeast placed the dried fat upon it. As soon as the grease began to run out, the other three men caught some of it in their hands and greased their hands and faces. They also greased the sacred stones and passed them through the smoke. When this had been done, the fat was removed from the fire, and all four smoked the sacred pipe, passing it from one to another. At the conclusion of the smoking, the pipe was laid on the mound, and all stood up slowly, looking at the sky in all directions. They then picked up the fat, the pipe, and the sacred stones, and re-entered the lodge.

While the men were outside, the priests had sung a series of songs, but ceased singing as they entered. The man from the northeast, who was the leader of the four, went to the bowl of water, picked up the bird's head which lay northeast of the bowl, dipped its bill in the water, and drank from it. He then pressed it first to his right and then to his left breast, and replaced it on the ground. He took up the turtle and did the same with it, except that he pressed it against his abdomen instead of his breast. When he had finished, he stood a short distance away on the west, and the other three men came from their respective directions and went through the same performance. After this [533]

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783 rite, they seated themselves in their original places,
778 and the priest said, "Priests, the men whom we have sent out to look about have returned. They will tell us what they have seen." The man on the northeast rose and announced, "We went out before daylight. We found the buffalo; so many of them that they have almost drunk the river dry." The others rose in turn and gave the same answer.

The chief priest then called some famous warrior and gave him the sacred pipe which the men had used, and gave the strip of fat to a chief. These passed around the interior of the lodge, first on the north, and then on the south side, offering first the pipe and then the fat to each of the keepers in turn. All reached for the pipe at once, trying to get as many hands on it as possible. They did the same with the fat, clutching it as if starving and trying to tear off pieces. This sym-
[777] bolized their eagerness to kill buffalo, and the tighter a man grasped the pipe, and the more fat he succeeded in tearing off, the better would be his success on the hunt.

When the pipe and fat had completed their circuit, they were placed on the altar. The priest then called the chief of the whole band to the altar and invested him with the robe, rope, and moccasins which had been provided as gifts to Mother-Corn. The sacred pipe was placed in his hands, and the priest announced, "Priests and men, this man will take us to the river." All the keepers then went to the pit and took from it the Mother-Corn belonging to their respective bundles.

While this was going on, men had entered the lodge and seated themselves in front of the bundles belonging to their respective villages. The star chart was brought in from outside and given to a warrior belonging to the village of the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star bundle. Three other men were given quivers belonging to other sacred bundles. These four seated themselves,

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one behind the other, near the entrance of the lodge, the man with the star chart being in the lead. The various objects in the bundles were then distributed to the men from their villages. The chief of the band, in his ceremonial costume, left the lodge, and began to muster the small boys of the tribe outside. All who were old enough to take part were expected to be present, and in performing this duty the chief was supposed to show his watchfulness over the people. 778 783

During the distribution of the sacred objects the priests had been shaking their rattles and singing. Three songs were sung, and when they reached a certain word in the fourth, the man who carried the star chart jumped up and ran toward the river, closely followed by the men with the quivers. All the others followed them, with much crowding and fighting at the doorway. The priests and the keepers of the bundles remained behind. The men raced to the river bank, and there lined up in four ranks. Anyone who overtook the runner with the star chart snatched it from him, the idea being to carry it to the stream in the least possible time. At the river bank it was returned to its original bearer. The man with the star chart, and those with the quivers, stood in the center of the front rank, with the men who carried the Mother-Corn on either side. Behind them stood the men with the owl and hawk skins from the bundles, and behind these in turn the bearers of the less important objects. The last rank was made up of small boys, who carried racoon bones and arrows. When all had taken their places, the ranks opened in the center, and the chief came through, carrying the sacred pipe. He waded down into the water and went through the motions of bathing the pipe four times, although he did not wet it. He then pretended to wash first his right and then his left hand, and finally dipped his right hand in the water and touched it to his mouth, [533]

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778 nose, and forehead, and then drew it down his face.
783 These movements were repeated four times, with the right and left hands alternately. When he had done this, he came up out of the water, passed through the ranks, and took his place behind the rearmost, with his face toward the village. The men of the first rank then waded down into the stream and went through the same performance with the sacred objects they carried. They then passed through the other ranks and took their place behind the chief. The other two ranks did the same. When all had finished, the chief led them back to the village. As they entered it, the small boys dispersed, but the men continued on to the ceremonial lodge, where they returned the objects they carried to the keepers of the bundles and put on their robes, which they had left behind during the race. They then returned to their own lodges.

All the women who were bundle owners had ground corn during the preceding night and made mush.
[262] This mush had been brought to the lodge and given to the chief priest early in the morning, before the commencement of the ceremonies just described. He now offered a little of it to the gods and distributed the rest to the priests and keepers. They ate, and then tied their sacred bundles, took up their mats, pillows, and bowls, and returned to their own lodges.

783 After they had left the ceremonial lodge, a crier went through the town, telling the people to clean their lodges and the streets of their villages and carry the filth away. When this had been done, the priests who had taken part in the ceremony had a sweat lodge built, and one of them stood outside it, shaking his gourd rattle and singing. All the people assembled and ran a race down to the river. When they reached
[515] it, the priests waded in, came out at once, and went to the sweat lodge, where they took a steam bath. The

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342 just over the center of the lodge, where an opening about two feet in diameter was left as a smoke-hole. Long willow rods, closely spaced, were laid transversely over the rafters, and these in turn were covered with a thick layer of bunch grass. The sides of the lodge were built of timbers whose lower ends were planted in a trench, while their upper ends leaned against the cross beams of the outer uprights. The whole lodge was then covered with earth and sod.

The entrance was protected by a covered way, built like the lodge, which extended out from it. In all but one of the Skidi villages this entrance faced the [354] east. In the center of the floor there was a circular fire-pit surrounded by a slight embankment. At the west side of the lodge, opposite the entrance, a space [778] was always reserved. This space was called *wiharu*, the garden of the Evening Star, and was considered sacred. In it a buffalo skull was placed, facing the entrance, and above it the sacred bundles and other religious paraphernalia of the family were hung.

352 Around the north and south sides of the lodges, sleeping platforms were built. These platforms were made of poles whose inner ends rested on the earth ledge, while their outer ends were supported by forked posts and [513] beams. Over the poles were laid willow mats, coarse rush mats, and lastly tanned buffalo-skins. Each bed was screened off from those adjoining by willow mats. A lodge of ordinary size would have from eight to ten beds on a side. Those next the altar, which were considered most honorable, were occupied by the older children. Next were the beds of the aunts and uncles, then those of the parents, and lastly those of the old [592] people. As many as ten families, all related by blood, sometimes occupied a single house. The sleeping platforms and other furniture were removed when the lodge was to be used for ceremonies, and are not shown in the miniature group.

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539 was in session, they would come in and ask the medicine
773 men to help them, and they would give them a place in the lodge. In this way the society grew. People from other bands also heard about it and came begging to learn the mysteries. The medicine men taught them, and they went back to their own people and started other medicine lodges."

756 The ceremonies of the historic medicine lodge
796 agreed in a general way with those last described in the legendary account of its origin, but there were several features not mentioned in the story just given. The preparations for the great fall ceremony were begun while the people were still on the spring buffalo hunt. At this time the leading medicine men selected two members of the society to make two bows and four arrows. When these were completed, they were given to two other medicine men with instructions for one to kill a bull and the other a cow. The animals had to be killed with a single arrow, but it is said that because of the magic powers of the arrows the hunters never failed to do this. The bull's hide was to be used to cover
[532] the head of the water-monster image, the cow's hide
778 to cloth the figure of the witch woman. Two more buffalo, also a bull and a cow, were then killed in the same way, the hide of the former being saved to make an image of the Morning Star, and that of the latter, to make nine small images which represented the important heavenly gods. When the buffalo had been
[778] killed, the bows and arrows were returned to the leading medicine men who placed them among their sacred objects.

On the return from the hunt, the four leading medicine men went to the medicine lodge and ordered
[342] that it be cleared for the ceremony. The same lodge
[346] seems to have been used for the ceremony year after year, but was occupied as a dwelling between ceremonies.

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monies. All the beds and other furniture were carried out by the women, and the floor swept. When this had been done, the medicine men seated themselves in front of the lodge altar and sent their errand men to notify the other members of the society. After these had arrived and taken their places, the leaders went to each of them in turn and directed them, in a whisper, to prepare for the ceremony by a four-day fast. Each man, when he received this notification, returned to his own lodge, took his medicine bag, and left the village to spend that time in solitary fasting and prayer. At the expiration of the fast they bathed in the river and returned to the medicine lodge, where each took his appointed place.

The following morning, all the members of the society went to the river bottom to cut willows and cotton woods for the small booths which were to be built inside the large lodge. When they reached the timber, one of the two leading medicine men prayed and offered smoke to the heavenly gods, while the other, after he had finished, paid the same honors to the earthly gods. When this had been done, the timbers were cut and carried back to the main lodge, and the booths built.

The next morning the image of the water monster was made, the leaders assigning to different men the task of getting the things needed and making the different parts. This image was nearly sixty feet in length and encircled the lodge, with its head and tail on either side of the entrance. The framework was made of pieces of ashwood lashed together with sinew. Over these a layer of grass was laid, and the whole covered with mud which was smoothed and painted in different colors. The mouth of the figure was so large that a man could crawl into it, and was provided with pointed teeth, also of ashwood. On each side of the mouth, long, slender willow-rods were stuck to represent

9: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
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feelers. The head was covered with a black-dyed buffalo robe and painted and decorated with downy feathers. The image of the turtle, in the center of which was the fire place, and that of the witch woman, were made the next day. The woman's image consisted of a willow frame covered with grass and surfaced with clay. The features were modeled, and the eyes were made with pumpkin seeds blackened in the center. A buffalo scalp was placed on the head, and to this were attached long braids of human hair which hung down to the knees. The figure was dressed in a buffalo robe.

When the images had been made, a ceremony was held by which each of the medicine men received power from either the monster or the witch woman. Some chose one, and some the other. On the day following, they went to cut the cedar tree which was to be placed just inside the entrance. When they found a suitable tree, they formed a circle around it, prayed to it, made presents to it of robes and other things, and finally took power from it. When this had been done, they cut it down. As it fell, they began to hypnotize each other and work sleight of hand. They then picked it up and carried it back to the village singing. As they neared the village, a second party of medicine men came out to meet them, and began to hypnotize them and try to drive them back. The party with the tree were more powerful, and gradually drove the others back to the edge of the village. There the tree was laid down, and all the people came and threw offerings on it. These offerings were gathered up, and were finally given to the medicine men. The tree was then taken to the lodge and set up, and its branches were covered with white downy feathers. That night they made the images of the Morning Star and the heavenly gods. These were flat pieces of hide, cut in the outline of a man. The image of the Morning Star was fastened to a long pole

9: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
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and raised above the smoke-hole just before the star rose. The other images were fastened to the tops of the main posts or on a cord running across the upper part of the lodge. [532] [778] 756 796

It is uncertain at what stage in the ceremony the altar of loon skins was set up, but it seems to have been after the various images had been made. The sticks bearing the skins were thrust in the ground on the west side of the lodge, and the space between them sprinkled with water and then covered with downy feathers. When this had been done, the leader of the medicine men raised his face to the sky and cried, "Father, the water birds and the water, their dwelling-place, now stand on the altar. Give us plenty of rain this summer." Then dropping his voice to a whisper and bowing down to the ground, he said, "Mother Earth, the water birds and the water, their dwelling-place, are now upon you. Let our crops grow so that we may be fed." When he had done this, he went outside the lodge and called upon all the gods to give power to the loons so that they, in turn, could give power to the people.

At dawn of the day following that on which the last of the images had been made and set up, the various medicine men dressed themselves to represent their guardian animals and marched, in order of the importance of their guardians, around the outside of the lodge and then around the inside. They did this four times, dancing and imitating the cries and actions of their guardians. They then held a feast in the lodge. That night they once more marched out in procession and visited all the lodges which contained sacred bundles, dancing in each. When they had returned to the medicine lodge, the leaders selected certain medicine men to go through the village once more, visit every lodge, and report if any one was sick. When

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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of their value as food sources. Smaller animals, such as rabbits, opossum, raccoon, and squirrel, were also to be had. Ducks, geese, and other waterfowl were plentiful and fish abounded in most of the streams.

All of the major streams carry water the year round, although the Platte during the summer months becomes largely a subterranean river above its junction with the Loup. With the exception of those in the sand hills, the streams flow characteristically in broad, flat alluvial valleys, from 3 to 15 miles wide, and bordered by bluffs up to 250 feet in height. The historic villages were apparently all located in the large river valleys rather than on the small tributary creeks; only the chase, war forays, or migrations seem to have led village tribes such as the Pawnee out upon the interfluvial areas.

It may be noted here that the "sacred places" of the Pawnee, where the *Nahu'rac*, or miraculously endowed animals, met in council, were all associated with the streams. There were five of these, according to Grinnell.[20] One was "at *Pa-hŭk'*, on the south side of the Platte River, opposite the town of Fremont, in Nebraska. The word *Pa-hŭk'* means 'hill island.' Another animal home is under an island in the Platte River, near the town of Central City. It is called by the Pawnee *La-la-wa-koh-ti-to*, meaning 'dark island.' The third of these sacred places is on the Loup Fork, opposite the mouth of the Cedar River, and under a high white cut bank. It is called *Ah-ka-wit-akol*, 'white bank.' Another is on the Solomon River, *Kitz-a-witz-ŭk*, 'water on a bank'; it is called *Pa'howa* sometimes. This is a mound, shaped like a dirt lodge. At the top of the mound, in the middle, is a round hole, in which, down below, can be seen water. At certain times the people gather there and throw into this hole their offerings to *Ti-ra'-wa*, blankets and robes, blue beads, tobacco, eagle feathers, and moccasins. Sometimes, when they are gathered there, the water rises to the top of the hole and flows out, running down the side of the mound into the river. Then the mothers take their little children and sprinkle the water over them and pray to *Ti-ra'-wa* to bless them. The water running out of the hole often carries with it the offerings, and the ground is covered with the old rotten things that have been thrown in. [This clearly refers to the mineral spring now known as Waconda, or Great Spirit, Springs, situated 2½ miles southeast of Cawker City, Mitchell County, Kans.[21]] The fifth place is a hard, smooth, flinty rock, sticking up out of the ground. They call it *Pa-hŭr'*, 'hill that points the way.' In the side of the hill there is a great hole where the *Nahu'rac* hold councils. This hill is in Kansas and can be

[20] 1893, p. 358.
[21] Bailey, 1902, pp. 197–200.

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seen from the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad. It is known to the whites as Guide Rock."[23]

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Traditions

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Pawnee history, as herein discussed, consists of two major periods or divisions: First, the period of legend and tradition, which is concerned primarily with the origin and migrations of the tribe in a dim and distant past; and secondly, the period of recorded history, beginning in 1541, with the first contact between Europeans and Pawnee, and continuing down to 1876, the date of final removal of the tribe from its home on the Loup and its confinement on a reservation in the then Indian Territory. For information on the first period the traditions recorded by Dunbar, Dorsey, and Grinnell are our main source, hence are here briefly reviewed; and for the later period, the accounts of European and American explorers and travelers are drawn up in chronological sequence, particularly as relates to the location of the villages of the different bands.

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The ancient habitat of the Pawnee, prior to their occupation of the Platte and Loup Valleys, lay traditionally to the south or southwest. Dunbar,[24] whose authority on this point is generally accepted, states that the traditions of the Grand, Republican, and Tappage bands "coincide in stating that the Pawnee migrated to the Platte River region from the south, and secured possession of it by conquest."[25]

This is partially corroborated by a Wichita legend, according to which the "primitive home" of the two tribes, Pawnee and Wichita, was "upon the Red River, below the mouth of the Washita",[26] in eastern Oklahoma or Arkansas, whence they wandered northward together. The same authority says relative to the Skidi that the "traditions of the other three bands are very positive in affirming that they are the remnant of a once separate tribe that has been subdued and incorporated into the Pawnee family";[27] the Otos, Poncas, and Omahas were conquered at the same time.[27]

Dorsey[28] traces three of the bands back to a single ancestral tribe, called the *Kawarahkis*, which dwelt near the confluence of the Little Nemaha with the Missouri in the southeastern corner of the present

[23] According to Mr. A. T. Hill, the "hill that points the way" is actually about 3 miles north of the Kansas-Nebraska line, on the south side of the Republican River, directly south of the town of Guide Rock, Webster County, Nebr.
[24] Dunbar, J. B., 1880, a, pp. 251 ff.
[25] Ibid., p. 251.
[26] Idem.
[27] Ibid., p. 253.
[27] Ibid., p. 252.
[28] Dorsey, G. A., 1906, p. 8.

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post had very obviously been omitted. There were no inside post-holes, nor was there any fireplace, and the usual debris found in a lodge site was conspicuously absent. The situation was low, unsuited for a dwelling, yet the hard-packed soil had effectively resisted the action of water draining into the hollow in times of heavy rain. There was quite clearly no roof, nor is there anything to suggest a house pit such as occurs as a foundation for every lodge. From all appearances, therefore, it would seem that the structure was a stock corral, with its entrance toward the west. Transverse poles were doubtless lashed from post to post, and the gate closed by means of movable cross poles. This reconstruction is confirmed by the occurrence of charcoal almost exclusively about or between the post holes. Such a corral, though unlike that described by Clayton, would be entirely practicable, and where timber was scarce would also be highly advisable.

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Foods: Agriculture

The food complex of the Pawnee centered about two staples, viz, maize and the bison. Since the two were very nearly equally stressed, though conducive to wholly dissimilar habits of life, they were directly responsible for many of the varied elements of Pawnee culture. Thus they made the people alternately roving hunters and settled agriculturists, and led, correspondingly, to the use of two entirely distinct house types, of the cache, and of numerous other traits. It was to this combination of hunting with horticultural life that much of the richness of Pawnee culture is due.

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The Pawnee were essentially a corn-growing people. Corn was their Mother; it figured in their rituals and in their mythology, even more prominently than did the bison. Two ears of corn went into the sacred bundles of the tribe, and were renewed annually.[24] The most important ceremonies, including the sacrifice of a maiden to the Morning Star by the Skidi, were directed as much toward securing a bountiful corn crop as toward success on the bison hunt.

172* 243 [178]

The cornfields were of necessity small, seldom including more than an acre or so. They were usually situated at the mouth of a ravine or in similar spots where the soil was loose and fertile. Owing to the primitive nature of the tools used, the prairie bottom-lands with their heavy turf were impractical, consequently, the women were often compelled to go as far as 5 and 8 miles from the village to find a suitable plot of ground.[25] Occasionally the fields were protected by a wicker fence,[26] but as a rule they were left open, the women remaining to guard them during the daytime while the horses were at large.

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[24] Dorsey, G. A., 1904, p. 20; Linton, 1923, a, p. 2.
[25] Irving, 1835, vol. II, p. 27; Oehler and Smith, 1851, p. 29.
[26] Long, 1823, vol. I, p. 447.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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surfaces have been cut various designs, for the most part of simple geometric character. The lines are deeply incised and give a very sharp, clear-cut cast of the various figures. The work may have been purely decorative in nature but there is a possibility that the incised slabs were used as molds. Heavy lead rings with three or more parallel flutings or ribs are one of the most common of grave finds (pl. 12, *g*); they are nearly identical with the cast obtainable from the mold represented by figure 9, *a*. Similarly, belt buckles could be easily cast by the use of the other molds figured, the shaded lines representing depressions and incisions (fig. 9, *b*, *c*). All of these designs are on specimens from the Hill site but far more elaborate and involved motifs cut into polished red stone occur at the early Linwood village (fig. 10). None of the stones, however, show the effect of heat, as would be expected if they had been subjected to treatment with molten metals, hence they may be merely decorated tablets. They have been found in graves as well as on the surface about village locations. (See Strong, 1935, p. 286.)

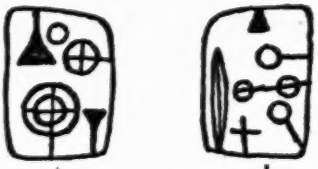

FIGURE 10.—Incised tablets ("molds"), Linwood site.

DRILLS.—Small T-shaped flint drills occur but rarely on the later Pawnee sites. They are usually less than 1½ inches in length, the transverse portion being slightly concave. A few simple drills of straight elongate form are also found.

PESTLE.—A single pestle has been recovered from the Skidi site near Palmer. It is of black gneissoid material, 12 inches long, 3 inches in greatest diameter and tapering to slightly less than 2 inches at the other extremity. The large end is much abraded and battered but otherwise the specimen is well worn, highly polished, and very nicely shaped. It represents a surface find.

CRYSTALS.—Two small quartz crystals, each about 1½ inches long with a yellowish, semitranslucent cast, were recovered at the Hill site. They are natural pebbles, unmodified, but have a smooth, worn appearance as though from long carrying in a pouch or cloth. They presumably represent fetishes.

"WHETSTONES."—These are always found as grave offerings and have been associated with the left hand of more than 80 percent of the adult male skeletons found at the Hill site. They are from 2 to 6 inches long and up to an inch wide. In cross section they are square, rectangular, and oval. A few are worn on the flat surfaces, as though from use as a whetstone, but the majority are merely shaped and slightly smoothed. They are of various materials, but usually of limestone, schist, or sandstone. It is doubtful whether

12: Grinnell N-5 (1870-1885)1961 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

224 With the grey dawn of morning, the camp, as usual, is astir. By
484 the time our little party have turned out of our blankets, some of the Indians have already finished eating, and are catching up their
[462] horses and preparing to ride off over the bluffs, leaving the squaws to take down the lodges, pack the ponies, and pursue the designated line of march. Before we are ready to "pull out," most of the ponies have been packed, and a long, irregular line of Indians is creeping across the level valley, and beginning to wind up the face of the bluffs. The procession moves slowly, proceeding at a walk. Most of those who remain with the column are on foot, the squaws leading the ponies, and many of the men, wrapped in their blankets, and with only their bows and arrows on their backs, walking briskly
[735] over the prairie, a little to one side. These last are the poorer Indians —those who have but few horses. They travel on foot, letting their horses run without burdens, so that they may be fresh and strong, whenever they shall be needed for running the buffalo.

224 Side by side, at the head of the column, walk eight men who carry
● 778 the buffalo staves. These are slender spruce poles, like a short lodge-
484 pole, wrapped with blue and red cloth, and elaborately ornamented with bead work, and with the feathers of hawks, and of the war eagle. These sticks are carried by men selected by the chiefs and doctors in private council, and are religiously guarded. Upon the care of these emblems, and the respect paid to them, depends, in a great measure, the success of the hunt. While borne before the moving column, no one is permitted to cross the line of march in front of them.

224 Close behind the staff bearers follow a number of the principal
484 men of the tribe; the head chief, old *Pi'ta Le-shar*, and a dozen or
[622] fifteen sub-chiefs or head men, all mounted on superb horses. Behind them comes the camp at large, a fantastically mingled multitude, marching without any appearance of order. Here most of the individuals are women, young girls and children, for the men who accompany the camp usually march singly, or by twos and threes, a little apart from the mob. Most of those rich enough in horses to be able to ride at all times, are scattered over the prairie for miles in every direction, picking up the small bands of buffalo, which have been passed by the scouts as not large enough to call for a general surround. The hunters are careful, however, not to follow too close

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

851 convince a man of his physiological paternity, and her child would then
848 be a social outcast. It would be known as *pira-paru*, "hidden child," since the mother would be ashamed and try to hide it when her brothers came to visit. The child would be subject to many insults and humiliations throughout its life. In these terms, whatever the sentiments of the parents for each other, the child always had a legal right to the care of both its parents, clearly identified as its physical progenitors. Children were normally cared for by their grandmothers, and it was quite possible that various fortunes placed the child in one household with its grandmother, its mother in another household, and the father in still another. The obligations for support, however, remained incumbent on both parents.

593 The household as a working group of coordinated members was pre-
221 cisely organized, and each household had the same general structure. However, twice a year when the tribe set out on its semiannual buffalo hunts, the household work group fragmented itself into many smaller groupings, which reassorted themselves so that an able hunter became the nucleus of each new composite grouping. When they returned to the village the households did not necessarily reassemble with the same personnel as before. This was entirely optional, and there were many reasons why people might decide to join a different household group than the one they had been with before leaving. However, it was not too hard to establish a working household on this basis even twice a year, since the pattern of operation was the same everywhere. The three duplicate stations on the north and south sides of the lodge with their full complement of the young, mature, and old women was a frame into which any individual woman could fit herself in whatever household she entered with little loss of efficiency, since her duties were so clearly defined once she selected the category to which she belonged. And a child with a grandmother to care for it could fit in anywhere. Young men led a more transient existence. They were likely to congregate at different times in one lodge or another, and a bed would be made for them by putting down a mat between the central pillars and providing it with the necessary skin bedding. Old men also moved about rather freely, staying overnight in various households whenever they were detained late of an evening telling stories or participating in a ceremony. As for the mature man, his married-in household was not considered his "true" home. In his married-in household he was an outsider with formal obligations, which sometimes tended to weigh rather heavily on him. Then he would go where his home really was—that of his sisters and his mother, where they would gladly feed him and take care of him and where he could relax
621 and feel like a child. When this happened, his wife understood, and she
622 knew he would be back after a few days.

821 The only stable and fixed unit of Pawnee life was the village with
778

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
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three hundred to five hundred people and from ten to twelve households. 621
The village community centered around the chief who had his sanction 622
through a vision from Heaven. Every person within the village was also
under the tutelage of a given star, and the chief held the sacred bundle 821
that represented the supernatural story of its origin and gave the village 778
its continuity. In these terms, all the people in the village were considered as a kindred, but their specific cosmic derivation gave them differing social ranks. According to their star affiliations, some were born as 821
chiefs, some as braves, and some as commoners; their social functions in
the community were thus relatively preordained. When a chiefly infant 554
was born to two high-ranking parents, he was wrapped in a wildcat skin, 565
symbolizing the heavens with its panoply of stars and planets. When he married, the priest and his senior errand man impersonated the Morning Star and the sun respectively. High-ranking chiefly families provided the administrators, whereas the families of braves—the next in rank—provided the executive officers. The commoners, known collectively as *akitaru* "the tribe or people," were often reminded by their officials that only their support made it possible to carry out the responsibilities of high office. However, one's life was not entirely cast in this mold. A chief 554
or brave might never be considered worthy of the office, or he himself 565
might not feel capable of dedicating himself to its responsibilities, while a commoner could rise high in the social scale and acquire considerable wealth by becoming a successful doctor and earning high fees from his grateful patients. Some people of commoner rank had little use for prestige positions and would say, "I don't care to be a noted person." Another group would prefer a carefree life of adventure. They would go out on long scouting expeditions, roaming about the country and exploring to see what they could find. They were helpful to anyone in the village who needed them, without considering it beneath their dignity to perform any menial task and gave away what they had rather freely. Such men were referred to as "boys" on the grounds that they were like boys, having no care for accumulating anything or for providing for the morrow. They were regarded with affection and sometimes rose to the rank of brave in recognition of their long public service.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
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screen stood in front of the beds of the mature women to give them privacy. The series of beds was interrupted by an open platform at each side to store current food supplies and household articles.

The long vestibule that gave entrance to the house projected outward from the eastern side of the circular walls. Inside, on both sides of the door to the house, was a working area in each of which a woodpile was braced against the walls. The rear or western wall of the house was the sacred area, the beds being ranged along the north and south walls. There were five platforms along each wall, the middle one for supplies and the four others fitted out as beds.

The boy, Otter, and his grandmother were sleeping on the north side of the house in the easternmost bed nearest the entranceway. The second bed next to theirs was occupied by another little boy, Yellow Calf, and his grandmother, Grieves-the-Enemy. Then came the supply platform for the north side and beyond that the bed of Horse Rider and his wife, No Corn. Horse Rider was an assistant to Otter's father, Victory Call, a prominent chief and religious leader. Victory Call and White Woman had the bed that was in the place of honor near the west.

Along the south wall of the house was another family. The head of that family was Old Bull, friend and associate of Victory Call and also a chief and religious leader. He occupied the west bed with his younger wife, Clear Day, and the next bed was occupied by the little girl, New Queen, their daughter. Then came the supply platform for the south side, and beyond that the bed of Queen Woman, Old Bull's senior wife with her little boy of three, and finally the easternmost bed on the south side for the grandmother, Blue Calico, who was the mother of the younger wife, Clear Day, and had the youngest child sleeping with her.

Everyone in the house knew his appointed place and where he could go and where he could not go. In the sacred area at the west was an earthen platform with a buffalo skull resting on it and above it hung a long, skin-wrapped bundle containing their most sacred objects, including two specially bred ears of corn. Between the fireplace and the buffalo altar, there was a sacred spot that was invisible—the *wi-haru*, "the place where the wise words of those who have gone before us are resting." Rather than step over this place in order to pass from one side of the house to the other, everyone walked around the entire house by way of the east. When the heads of the household sat down to rest or when they entertained important guests, it was near the west that they sat and no one would want to pass in front of them.

The house was a microcosm of the universe and as one was at home inside, one was also at home in the outside world. For the dome of the sky was the high-arching roof of the universe and the horizon all around was the circular wall of the cosmic house. Through the roof of the house the star gods poured down their strength from their appropriate directions in

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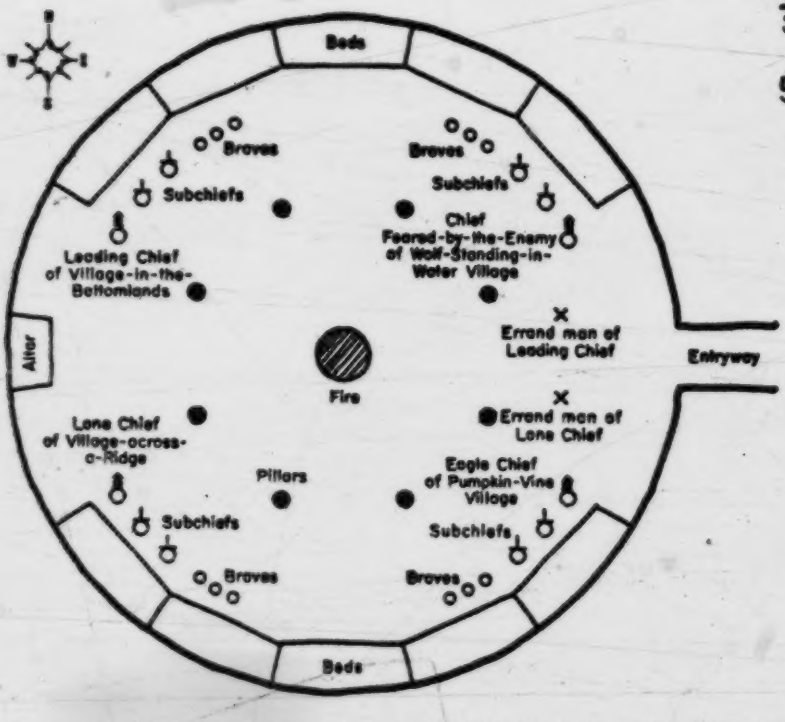

FIGURE 5-2. Administrative feast at Eagle Chief's lodge in the spring. Mats are placed in the outer circuit against the beds to accommodate larger numbers. Of the supposed twelve villages that formed the Skidi Federation in the past, four villages remained in 1867. Villages must have combined as their numbers were decimated. The original twelve sacred village bundles remained, and some of the subchiefs probably represented these assimilated villages. [631] [778]

This was the time for joking "so that everyone could laugh during the meal." The jokes were of a somewhat slapstick variety as they wanted to be sure that no one's feelings were hurt in any way. Ordinarily, while the social relationship with one's parents was quite formal and restrained, the relationship with the grandparents was in sharp contrast. It was a relationship of lively familiarity. Physical handling was rough-and-tumble, a grandfather sometimes pulling his grandson out of bed of a cold morning and dumping him in the snow to harden him; jokes were often leveled at the grandchild and answered in kind. The mode of kin reckoning often involved an extension of the immediate kin terms to more distant blood relatives, and it worked out so that people of similar ages might addres 623 574 522 [593] [603] [601] [602]

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take a certain position. When these signs were seen, then they must listen for the thunder that is low, deep, and rumbling, starting in the west and rolling around the entire circuit of the heavens. Sheet lightning gave warning that this kind of thunder would soon appear. This thunder was the voice of Heaven, and when it came from the south they knew that it was the signal for the creation ritual to be performed.

The ritual was part of the sacred lore of the Evening Star bundle which at this time was kept in the earth lodge of Old Lady Lucky Leader. As soon as the thunder was heard, the five official priests gathered there and began their preparations for the ritual. The same ritual would be repeated for each of the twelve major sacred bundles, the Evening Star which they were about to perform, then Morning Star bundle, then Big Black Meteoric Star and nine others. At intervals all during the month of March the priests went in succession to the different households where each of the bundles was kept, performing the ritual to renew their powers. The order for the first three performances was as given above; the other nine, simply as each of the households happened to be ready to pause in its work and to provide the necessary food for the priests.

Now the five priests were sitting at the west in the lodge of Old Lady Lucky Leader, the Evening Star bundle lying open before them. The sacred objects were spread out on the skin of a tawny yellow calf representing the herds of buffalo. Two sacred ears of corn represented their staple food, two owlskins the watchfulness of the chiefs, hawkskins the ferocity of the warriors, flint for fire and sweet grass for incense; paints symbolized the powers of the different directions of the universe. Each of the priests held a gourd rattle in his right hand, and they sang together of the first creation. Their responsibility lay heavy upon them, for they and they alone must bring the world back to life again. Would they now be able to bring back the abundance of summer—the green grass, the trees, the animals reborn, the waters flowing free, the warmth of a summer day? Loud and insistently they recounted each minute step of the creation and in the trancelike depths of their thinking, the events rolled by before them.

In the beginning Heaven sat in the unassorted universe and thought. He sent his thoughts out over space. Then he created the celestial gods to bring his thoughts to fruition. First he made the gods of the cardinal directions—the Evening Star at the west with the moon as her helper, the Morning Star at the east with the sun as his helper, in the north the North Star and in the south, Canopus, the South Star. Then Heaven placed four stars in the semicardinal directions—Black Star in the northeast, Yellow Star in the northwest, White Star in the southwest and Red Star in the southeast. Heaven said to them, "You four shall be known as the ones who uphold the heavens. There you shall stand as long as the

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heavens last, and although your place is to hold the heavens up, I also 773
give you power to create people. You shall give them the different bundles which shall be holy bundles. Your powers will be known to the people, for you shall touch the heavens with your hands, and your feet shall touch the earth."

Now Heaven spoke to Evening Star in the west. So that they might do her bidding, he sent her clouds, winds, lightnings, and thunders, and these she was to place between herself and her garden; then they would assume human form, appearing in the dress of priests, each with a gourd rattle in his right hand. With these arrangements in order, Heaven was now ready to create the world:

It was the storms that carried out this mission, one great thunderstorm to create the lifeless structure, and a second to endow it with life. All this took many eons.

Heaven told the Evening Star to tell her gods to rattle and sing. As they sang, the clouds came up, then the winds blew the clouds and the lightnings and thunders entered the clouds. The thick clouds gathered over open space and into them Heaven dropped a pebble—a quartz crystal. The pebble rolled in the clouds and as the storm passed over, the whole world below was water. Now Heaven sent out the four semicardinal-direction gods, each armed with a war club of hemlock, the wood known to the Skidi as *atira*, my mother. As they approached their appropriate stations, they were to strike the waters which would cause them to part and expose the earth. Each of the four semicardinal-direction [778]
bundles is said to contain such a war club of hemlock that was actually used in the original creation.

Now the lifeless structure of the earth had been formed. A second great storm was needed to put life into the earth. Heaven instructed Evening Star to have her four gods (impersonated by the priests in the ritual) rattle and sing, and, while they sang, clouds came up, winds, lightnings, and thunders, and, while the gods sang of the formation of the earth, "the storms passed over the earth, and as the winds blew, it rained, the lightnings striking in the ground to put life in the earth. The thunders now shook the earth so that in parts where it was not level, the dirt slid down into the valleys." In these two great storms, the earth, *uraru*, was created and then life put into it.

Next were to be created the timbers and the underbrush *tuharu*, that make the land gray. The gods sang, and with the first great storm, the structure of the timbers was created. There was a second great thunderstorm in which the lightning struck them and the thunders sounded over them to put life into the *tuharu*, the timber.

Fourth in the great creation were the waters, *tsaharu*, and two great eras of storm were needed—one to give it its structure and a second to make it a living reality. The bottoms of the creeks, rivers, ponds, and

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visions to the first man. She came night after night, bringing along her four storm gods who rattled and sang the sacred songs so that he learned of the creation and could give this knowledge to the people. Then the people went hunting far and wide over the land and they discovered that there were villages scattered everywhere in which there were people just like themselves. First Man now decided to call them all to a great council. He sent his messenger to the villages to invite them. Meanwhile he moved his village from south of the Platte to a more central location northward on the Loup, and it was henceforth called Center Village. From the west came Old Village which was actually four villages in one, each representing one of the semicardinal directions and each with a sacred bundle of its own that contained a different color of corn. They came carrying packages of dried buffalo meat on their backs, since it was a time before the Pawnees had gotten horses from the Europeans. The leader of the four was Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, and the head of this village insisted on being "Master of Ceremonies" for all of them. The Chief of Center Village who had called them together was now faced with a problem, and that night Evening Star came to him in a vision and told him what to do. He would divide the functions of priest and chief, stepping aside and allowing the leader of Old Village to be the priest while he himself took over the functions of chief. He kept the Evening Star bundle intact, but made a special ceremonial bundle to denote his chieftainship. In order to commemorate his creative intellectual powers, he directed that when he died his skull was to be attached to the outside of this bundle. Thus it came to be known as the Skull bundle, although it was also referred to as the bundle of the Wonderful Person, *Tsahiks-paruksti*, "person-wonderful." This bundle presided over the meeting of the chiefs late in the spring as well as over other rituals. When the original skull was accidentally broken, it was replaced with another.

This story of the creation embodies two things. On the one hand it is an allegory of cosmic creation, and on the other a thinly veiled recounting, in symbolic form, of all-too-human intervillage conflicts of the past which were resolved by the formation of a political federation. In Pawnee thinking, these were appropriately combined, for peace and ongoing life came always from Heaven. In the ceremonial cycle of the year there was a careful alternation of ceremonial authority, the first ceremony being that of the Evening Star bundle—the creation; the second, a ceremony directed by the Morning Star bundle, and the third a ceremony under the aegis of one of the four semicardinal-direction bundles. (See Table 7-1.) In this way a balance of ceremonial responsibilities was maintained among the leading villages of the past which had joined together in the Skidi Federation.

After the priests had completed their rounds for the creation ritual during the month of March, the second ceremony in the cycle involved

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the sacrifice to the Morning Star of a young girl that had been captured from the enemy. This was compensation to the Morning Star god for his struggle during the creation. The last girl to be sacrificed to the Morning Star was a young Sioux girl named Haxti in 1838, after which the practice was abandoned. This ceremony symbolized fertility in general.

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TABLE 7-1. *Chart of Sacred Bundle Ceremonies in the Spring and Fall*

The several ceremonies of the spring planting and fall harvest form a parallel series, the six ceremonies in each showing a recurrent alternation of the powers of the Evening Star and the four semicardinal-direction bundles. The first four pertain to planting, fertility, and war, the latter two to buffalo hunting and migration.

Spring	*Fall*
I. Spring Renewal—ceremony of the creation at the first thunder from the south; Evening Star sponsorship.	I. Green Corn Ceremony. Evening Star sponsorship.
II. Distributing sacred seed corn of the special breed of corn included in the sacred bundles. Semicardinal-direction bundle sponsorship. Changeover to one of the summer-direction bundles—southwest or southeast.	II. Harvest of Mature Corn. Mature corn from sacred seeds installed in the sacred bundles, replacing the sacred ears of last year's planting. Semicardinal-direction bundle sponsorship. Changeover to one of the winter-direction bundles—northwest or northeast.
III. Ground-breaking ceremony, *Awari*, movement, activity. The Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person, an affiliate of the Evening Star in charge of the ritual as sponsor.	III. Four-Pole Ceremony—symbolizing political federation and control of the country through war expeditions so that they could go out into the country on the hunt. The Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person, an Evening Star affiliate in charge of the ritual as sponsor.
IV. Birth and growth of Young Mother Corn through adolescence to young womanhood; known as *Kurabus*, "Priest." Semicardinal-direction bundle in charge of ritual as sponsor.	

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BUFFALO HUNTING AND MIGRATION

Spring	*Fall*
V. Ritual Chiefs' Meeting. Chiefs personify Heaven and acknowledge their sole responsibility to lead the people to a successful conclusion of the buffalo hunt. Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person in charge of the ritual.	V. Ritual Chiefs' Meeting. Chiefs acknowledge their sole responsibility to lead the people to a successful conclusion of the buffalo hunt. North Star bundle in charge of the ritual.
VI. Great Cleansing Ceremony of the ceremonial objects. Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast bundle of the four Semicardinal-direction set, in charge. Tribe leaves the village to go off on the migration and summer buffalo hunt.	VI. Great Cleansing Ceremony of the ceremonial objects. Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast bundle of the four Semicardinal-direction set, in charge. Tribe leaves the village to go off on the migration and winter buffalo hunt.

The next ceremony concerned the corn itself. The sacred corn included in all the bundles was of a specially cultivated breed that was ordinarily not eaten. At this ceremony these seeds were distributed to each of the sacred bundle owners so that the sacred ears of corn could be grown for their bundles. The two "north" bundles of the semicardinal directions took charge of this ceremony in alternate years, one year the northeast, the next the northwest, etc. This ceremony was held late in April.

During the first week in May the ceremony that immediately preceded the planting of the common varieties of food corn was performed. Until it was carried out, no planting could be done. It was under the sponsorship of the Skull bundle, thus maintaining the principle of alternation of sacred responsibilities, since it was an Evening Star affiliate. The outstanding feature of the ceremony was a pantomime of breaking the ground preparatory to planting. The ground was customarily broken with a hoe made of a buffalo shoulder blade tied to a short wooden stick that served as a handle. During the ceremony, the women went through the motions of breaking the ground with sacred hoes that were kept in the four semicardinal-direction bundles and borrowed for the occasion. The action was very vigorous and the ceremony was appropriately called *Awari*, "Motion." The planting was done the very next day after the ceremony.

The final ceremony of the spring planting cycle was called *Kuraku*,

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"Priest"; it was performed when the sacred corn plants were about two inches high and had four good leaves. This ceremony was in charge of one of the two "south" bundles of the semicardinal directions—in alternate years, the southwest and the southeast. The crux of the ceremony was the uprooting of one of the young sacred corn plants, in which the act of birth was symbolized and the young plant carried as an infant on the visionary's back from the field to the ceremonial lodge, where it was attached to a stick fashioned by an arrowshaft maker and painted to represent a person. The plant was now carried through a cycle of childhood and young girlhood and breathed on by the priests to give it life. It was now Young Mother Corn, watching over the tribe. Only when this ceremony had been performed were the women permitted to go out into the fields and weed the corn plants and hill up the earth around them to protect them as they grew. A second weeding and hilling process in the latter part of June was the last attention the corn plants received before being "laid by." The people were then ready to leave for the summer buffalo hunt.

Without this ceremonial cycle, the coordination of the people in their orderly round of life could not go on. While it was primarily a religious frame, it was also of basic practical value since it was based on the seasonal progression. Without it it would have been almost impossible to coordinate people's lives with one another and with external events.

Some of the activities that were necessary during the spring season were fitted into the cycle rather than being part of it. This was particularly true of the manufacturing and maintenance functions, while the ceremonial cycle referred especially to the planting of the crops.

All winter while the people had been wandering over the country on the tribal buffalo hunt the house had stood idle and their clothes and equipment had taken heavy wear. These had to be put in order and repaired before planting time.

The average life of a house was twelve years, but before the end of that time water might leak through the roof and rot some of the radial roof beams. These would have to be replaced, and in order to do this the whole roof covering of thatch and earth had to be removed and reassembled. This task would require more than the personnel of the household. Where the men of the house had little social status they would have few social contacts to draw on, but men like Old Bull and Victory Call were in a much better position to get help from the community. Because of their status as chiefs many more people were likely to volunteer to help. The following section shows some of the social mechanisms involved in the process. However, it should be noted that the assistance given was neither on the basis of power authority nor fundamentally for the sake of gaining social status by association, but rather in appreciation

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THE PLANTING OF THE CROPS

Ground-breaking Ceremony—the Women's Role —Explanation of Ritual—Songs of the Ceremony —the Process of Preparing and Planting the Crops Explained—Cooperation in Fields Discussed— Dangers of Attack—the Swim at the End of the Planting Day

THE CORN WAS THE FIRST CROP to be planted and then came the beans, squashes, and melons. But before any planting could be done, the *Awari* or "Ground-breaking Ceremony" had to be performed. The four special ministers of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person kept watch along the creeks for the first leaves to appear on the willows; then they knew the time was right for the ritual. They also had to wait for the dark of the moon that signified darkness and germination. Now the four ministers met together in the lodge where the Skull bundle was kept to make a plan for the ceremony. The actual inception of the ceremony was during the past winter while they were on a buffalo hunt, when a woman had had a vision that she was the one to see that it was performed. She called on the help of her brother, who killed a special buffalo for her, and then she invited the four ministers and told them of her vision. Then she dried and packed the rest of the buffalo meat and kept it in her storage pit to be used when the ceremony was performed in the spring.

This was the only Pawnee ceremony in which women played a major role, and the original visionary through whom the ceremony was instituted for the season was also a woman. But the ceremony itself was directed and carried through entirely by the men. Now with the sprouting of the willows it was time.

The woman of the house where the Skull bundle was kept got up

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241 574 [778] early in the morning after the ministers had met, took the bundle from the west where it was hanging, and placed it outside on a tripod. She cleared the lodge of all the bedding and swept it with hyssops, while the four ministers each went to his separate house and sent boys out to collect willow sprouts to be delivered to the ceremonial lodge. There they were piled in two piles, one to the north and one to the south, and the woman spread them around the lodge radially with their pointed ends toward the fireplace, their stub ends outward toward the wall. She placed the floor mats on top of them, two on each side of the lodge and one at the west in front of the altar. The ministers seated themselves and sent for the woman visionary after inquiring if she had the bundle of consecrated dried buffalo meat ready. They also invited four prominent women—daughters of chiefs, warriors, or medicine men—who were wealthy enough to furnish a parfleche of dried buffalo meat and a kettle of corn and who would play a major role in the ceremony. The woman visionary was seated at the north, the four guests at the south, and the ministers then announced that they were about to conduct a ceremony so that the women could go into the field and plant their corn and that they had selected them to be leaders of the dance. Their acceptance of the role meant they were ready to make the necessary contribution.

That evening they all rehearsed their part in the forthcoming ceremony. The woman visionary was anointed by the ministers and the significance of the ritual explained to her. The four women who were to assist her were seated two to the south and two to the north. Other women who were attending were seated behind them. The descendants of the original Skull bundle owners were seated on the north side, other men scattered around the lodge.

[534] [778] The four ministers sent for the four gourd rattles that were attached to the Evening Star bundle, and when they were brought in they began to rattle and sing while the woman visionary practiced her dance. The spectators went home, and the four ministers, the woman visionary, and Skull bundle owners remained and had a dinner of corn and meat together, talking about past customs and the origin of the Skull bundle. At midnight the brother of the woman visionary came to escort her home while the ministers remained sleeping near the altar, the head minister remaining awake to watch for the dawn when the proceedings would begin.

241 [574] The ritual was in three parts, one session from dawn to breakfast time, the second from breakfast time to ten in the morning, and the third in which there was major public participation, from ten till six-thirty in the evening. About seven-thirty in the evening there was a meal for everyone including the spectators to close the ceremony.

[778] The dawn-to-breakfast part of the ceremony celebrated the original coming together of the villages, commemorating the special creative

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achievement of the original visionary of the Skull bundle. This was celebrated by decorating the four pillars of the earth lodge that were in the semicardinal directions. To each of them was tied a bundle of willows and some dried buffalo meat and fat—tied on with buffalo-hair ropes. On each pillar under the offering was painted a colored stripe in the color appropriate to its semicardinal direction. The woman visionary was not invited, but was asked to send the consecrated buffalo meat which was set down at the south side of the fireplace. The Skull bundle owners were sent for and four selected to go out and gather the willows. Then they went in procession around the houseposts, one line on the outside, one on the inside, proceeding in a counterclockwise direction, (southeast, southwest, northwest, northeast) tying on the offerings to each post in succession and then painting them.

The sacred objects were next suffused with incense from burnt sweet grass mixed with fat, and the buffalo skull that usually rested there was removed from the altar and the skull of Wonderful Person put in its place. This was the first object to be "incensed"; then came the other objects in the bundle, then the ministers themselves, and then the errand men. After the incensing, all went home except the ministers and errand men, who had their breakfast there of meat and corn.

After breakfast and for the next four hours the lodge was prepared for the public ceremony. The major feature of the public ceremony would be a pantomime of hoeing to break the ground for planting, and the woman visionary was now called in to take part in the preparations. She came in with her brother, who was dressed in his best because he was to go through the village asking for gifts on behalf of their undertaking. He would walk through the village calling upon their relatives and saying that Wonderful Person needed wood and his sister needed help in her enterprise—would they please cook something? In answer to his request, they would bring gifts to the ceremonial lodge.

Meanwhile the errand men were sent out to borrow four sacred shoulder-blade hoes that were kept in the four direction bundles. When they brought these in they were placed in pairs on the north and south of the altar. From the Skull bundle itself were taken two deer necks placed at the south and two loon necks placed at the north of the altar. These symbolized the fact that loons fly high against the sky and bring us messages from Heaven, which Wonderful Person would now be representing in the ceremony. A pure young man who had shed no blood would be selected to decorate the skull for this role. He first painted the face red and on it a line design in blue, bow-shaped and extending across the forehead and down the cheeks, representing the vault of the heavens, and a blue line down the center and along the nose for the breath of Heaven descending from the zenith, passing down the nose to the heart and giving life to the child (see Figure 9-1). The minister

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241 now dressed the skull in a black skin turban with a knot on the forehead.
• 778 Inside the turban were soft down feathers mixed with red paint (to represent the visionary's brains), and on top, a soft feather as a plume.

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FIGURE 9-1. Representation of face painting symbolizing the vault of the heavens and the breath of Heaven.

[431] Gifts began to come in: kettles of corn and meat were placed at the
[782] south, buffalo robes and other offerings between the fireplace and the skull.

[203] The woman's brother and a young man were sent out to all the lodges
[431] to invite the people. They dressed in their best and everyone that came
[782] brought a gift. Soon they crowded outside the door of the ceremonial lodge, and after the brother had made a smoke offering with the pipe toward the heavens and the skull the people were allowed to come in. They piled their gifts in front of the skull.

The paraphernalia were handed out to the women who were to do the dancing, and a special coiled basket was handed to the woman visionary and one to her assistant. This basket, especially made by a woman under the direction of the minister, symbolized the container ordained by Heaven to carry earth from which the world was created and the germs of life. At the time of the creation, Heaven caused this basket to move of itself through space.

The four ministers of the Skull bundle now took up their rattles and sang, "Now we are going to start to dance. Everyone wants to dance and shake the earth."

241 At the first song the women stood ready to scrape the earth with their
535 hoes, right foot forward, arms extended. They were followed by the woman visionary and her partner, who now got up and danced with the coiled baskets. Next followed women with loon necks and then young women with deer necks. These had to be chaste young women. Now the hoes were taken over by the old women, for they were early risers and good workers in the fields. When these got tired, other women came over and took the hoes, carrying out the motions of hoeing all the time:

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when he comes, father, I am seeking for you." When he arrived at the priest's house, they embraced and wept together, and then the priest filled a little pipe with tobacco and asked the warrior to tell of his dream. 773 796 782

After he had heard his vision, the priest filled the pipe and went outside where he lit it and offered it to the Morning Star so that he would bless the young man. When the pipe was smoked out, the priest returned, emptied the ashes, and sat for a while talking with the warrior. The priest again filled the pipe and handed it to the warrior who lit it in the fireplace and carried it outside offering the first puff to the Morning Star, begging his pity and his guidance. Then the priest told the warrior to go home and to return when he was ready. He thought deeply of his forthcoming task as the priest had instructed him and at last asked the people in his lodge to make him several pairs of moccasins for the journey, filled with balls of pounded up sweet corn and some parched corn for his food. Everyone in the village was watching him, and some experienced warriors who had decided to go with him also asked their families to make similar preparations. [787]

The visionary returned to the priest's lodge where they sat together for four days. When he came on the fourth day, the priest took the Morning Star bundle down from where it was hanging over the sacred altar and removed the holy objects that the warrior would need, lighting the pipe from the bundle and offering smoke to each of them in the required fashion. The objects were an otterskin collar, Mother Corn, a hawkskin, an extra pipe from the bundle, some soft down feathers, and the skin of a wildcat, its legs filled with native tobacco and paints. These things the warrior would need for his costuming when he impersonated the Morning Star so that he could set out on his fateful journey. The ceremony took four days, and then the warrior went through the village to call on the men he knew were ready to come with him. He also chose a number of assistants—a younger man, four scouts from among the volunteers, and helpers and errand men. While the priest instructed him, the others went to their lodges and got their things. At midnight the priest went outside waiting for the Morning Star to rise and then went inside and costumed the warrior to impersonate him—a buffalo hair rope around his waist, an otterskin collar around his neck with a hawkskin fastened on and suspended from his right shoulder, the ear of Mother Corn from his left shoulder. He painted his face with the red ointment—two streaks on either side of his face and a bird's foot on his forehead (astronomically unidentified; "right on the Milky Way"). He gave him the pipe to carry in his left hand or in his robe with the stem pointing upward. As the Morning Star was rising the priest said, "Here is your man. He is wearing your clothing. Protect him and make him successful." Then he led the warrior around the fireplace, faced him toward the entrance, his assistant beside him and the others following behind in [778]

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drive the horses from the village toward their encampment so that they could leave in a hurry. The enemy would not immediately attempt a pursuit as there was a feeling that this was a kind of cosmic destiny. Retribution would be visited upon the whole tribe later on in a regular war party. The girl was placed on a pony behind her captor, and they rode all day, sleeping only three hours during the night until they approached the village. As they approached, the leader set the prairie on fire to let them know that they had been successful. The warriors smeared their faces with soot. The Morning Star priest came out and led the captive girl to the village and to his lodge. 773 796 782 721 726

Now that the girl had been captured the first stage of the warrior's mission had been accomplished. The sacrifice would not take place until the following spring. The whole tribe would go off on the winter buffalo hunt, taking the girl with them. When they got back to the village and the creation ceremony had been performed, the priest of the Morning Star would watch for a sign from the cosmic god that the time for the ceremony had arrived. Meanwhile, the returned war party settled back in the village. The visionary warrior went to the lodge of the Morning Star priest and returned the costume which was replaced in the sacred bundle. Warriors told how many of the enemy they had touched and the war counts they should receive because of this and the number killed. The women danced the victory dance. The keeper of the Wolf bundle was called to the Morning Star lodge to take over the care of the girl who would remain in his charge until the time of sacrifice, throughout the period of the winter buffalo hunt and the spring that followed. He was to watch over her at all times and was to take her for her meals to the home of the visionary warrior. According to the creation legend, the wolf was the first creature to suffer death; he was murdered by the people because of his perfidious conduct and as a result from that time on all living things must die (see below, pp. 328-329). The Wolf bundle commemorated these incidents and its keeper was thought to be a descendant of the original owners. Sirius, the southeast star, was the Wolf Star and it was connected with death. The Wolf man now entered the lodge of the Morning Star priest who bathed both him and the girl in incense from the smoke of burning sweet grass—first the girl and then the man. Then the girl's costume was taken from the Morning Star bundle. She was rubbed with red ointment made of pigment and buffalo fat and dressed in a calfskin skirt tied around the waist by a rope, an overblouse, a warm buffalo robe, some black moccasins, and a soft down feather to wear in her hair. She was given a special wooden bowl and a buffalo horn spoon for her exclusive use at meals, that was also taken from the bundle. It was dangerous for others to use her utensils as the supernatural beings might then consider them part of the sacrifice. 773 796 782 727 773 796 782 [778]

While they were on the winter hunt, the warrior visionary would have

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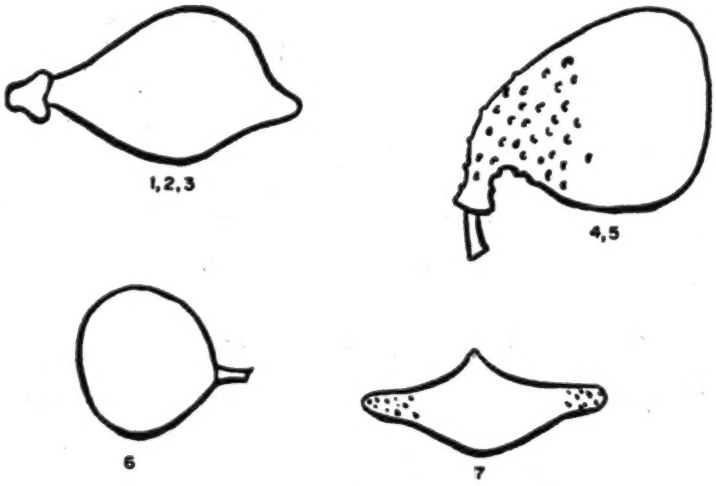

FIGURE 11-1. Seven varieties of squash and pumpkin known to the Pawnees generically as *Pahuks:* (1) *rus-kirius,* "soft-buttock" (as soft as the buttocks); pointed at both ends; a little more than 1 foot in length and 9 inches in diameter; yellowish in color; "as sweet as sugar." (2) *pahuks-tarahi,* squash or pumpkin-grooved; yellow in color; a kind sometimes seen in white men's stores. (3) *pahuks-katit,* squash or pumpkin-black; same size, shape, and taste as (2), the only difference being the black color. (4) *ri-katsu,* "lower half of body, white," *ri'u,* being the lower half of human body from the navel all around to the bottom of the feet. (The rest of the body is called *kisikitu,* upper half of body from *kisikiit,* "alive," and *-katsu,* "dead white." Sometimes the ordinary word for white, *taka,* is used instead.) The shell is as thick as a board and so hard that it needs to be cut up with an ax, but it is very sweet tasting. It has a crooked neck and is knobby or pimply around the neck end and very smooth on the body. (5) *ri-kats-katit,* same as (4), but black (*-katit,* "black") (6) *pahuks-kata,* "pumpkin-dry"; dry near the stem, sometimes a little pointed; somewhat dry inside when cooked; real round and smooth; color, light green. (7) *pahuks-tarahi-kiripaxki,* "squash-grooved-small"; in a variety of colors—green, white, yellow, and dark green, also a rather dark blue and some very blue.

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The Indian groups of the Missouri River Valley of which the Pawnees were one, raised mainly flint and flour corn, but not dent. They also raised sweet corn. Flint and flour corn apparently both did equally well among the Pawnees. Mark Evarts named ten breeds of corn for the Pawnees, one of them borrowed from the Osage. There were two flints, one yellow, and one varied in color, five or possibly six flour corns in five different colors—blue, speckled, white, yellow, and red; and one sweet corn, reddish-yellow in color. In addition, there was an archaic breed of corn known as Wonderful or Holy Corn which was never eaten but was raised only for inclusion in the sacred bundles. Two ears were

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placed in each bundle, each wrapped up and sewed into a covering—the winter ear in a tanned buffalo skin and the ear dedicated to summer in a buffalo-heart skin. Each individual ear of these holy corns in the bundles had a different name by which it was addressed. Early in April before the *Awari* or planting ritual, a ritual was held in which the seeds of the holy corn were distributed to the keepers of the sacred bundles so that their wives could plant them in their fields. At harvest time, when these sacred ears were mature, the old ears were removed from the bundles and replaced with ears from the new crop. Fine examples of some of the best ears of the more common varieties were also placed in the sacred bundles at harvest time, particularly those with a male spike. Compared with the white flour corn, the holy corn, which was also white, had small kernels that sometimes covered the cob to the very tip. "Sometimes it has something like a soft feather at the tip of the ear." This is apparently the male spike at the point end; archaeologically it appears very early, 4,445 ± 180 B.C., in the tiny ancestral corncobs taken from La Perra Cave in northeast Mexico. Such an ear is also shown in the headdress and hands of the Maize God on a prehistoric Zapotec funerary urn from Mexico (Mangelsdorf, 1958).

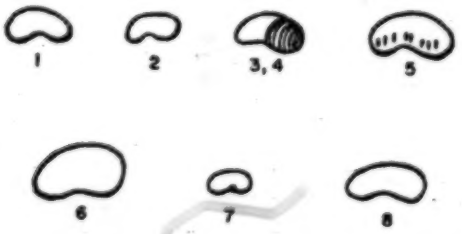

FIGURE 11-2. Eight varieties of beans, generically known to the Pawnees as *atit:* (1) *ati-pahat*, "bean-red"; a large sized bean. (2) *atik-taka*, "bean-white." (3) *ati-paks-katit*, "bean-head-black"; black-head beans. (4) *ait-paks-pahat*, "bean-head-red"; same as (3). (5) *ati-pirari*, "bean-spotted"; color of a spotted horse, spotted all around, some with red, some with black spots; a somewhat large-sized bean. (6) *ati-katus*, "bean-flat"; large, flat bean. (7) *atit-tiwats-katit*, "bean-navel-black"; spotted where it joins the stem; navel, *-riwat*, phonetically altered in the context. (8) *ati-taxkata*, "bean-yellow"; a rather large yellow bean.

Our classification of the species of corn is based on the starch content, but when a Pawnee was asked to name the varieties of corn they had, he or she would enumerate them in terms of color categories—black, spotted, white, yellow, and red. It is interesting that these represent the varieties of flour corn that they had. However, in classifying their corn, they subsumed the flint, sweet, and sacred varieties under these color categories. When asked to name the varieties of Pawnee corn, Mark Evarts

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12

CLOSING EPISODE OF PLANTING PERIOD

Young Corn Plant Ceremony—Seasonal Orientation—Necessity of a Visionary—Ritual of Ceremony Explained—Second Role of Visionary on Buffalo Hunt—Conclusion of Ceremony and Beginning of Weeding and Cultivating of Corn

243 The closing episode of the planting period was the carrying through of the young corn plant from a seedling to its "adolescence," when it could be "laid by" for the summer until they returned in the fall from the buffalo hunt and it would be ready for harvest.

The four semicardinal-direction bundle priests kept careful watch, and when the sacred corn seeds had sprouted to about two inches and had four good leaves, they knew that it was time to conduct the ceremony of the young corn plant. In this ceremony the priests prepared the young corn plant for her role as Mother to all the people. The young corn plant was carried through a series of ritual steps symbolizing the birth, infancy, and growth to first motherhood of a young girl. The corn could then mature and become Mother of the people.

The practical steps, as always, were preceded by a ceremonial preparation. The conduct of the ceremony was under one of the south semicardinal-direction bundles—either the Southwest or the Southeast in alternate years. As always, although the ceremonies were seasonally oriented, they were initiated by a visionary who received a mandate from the cosmic power involved, instructing him to see that the ceremony was performed. In this case the vision always came to a man who was an outstanding buffalo hunter and eagle trapper. The vision would have occurred while they were out on the winter buffalo hunt; as soon as possi-

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15

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY

000

A Summary Ceremony—a Symbolic Washing of All Ceremonial Objects—a History of the Ceremony—Celestial and Doctors' Symbolism Combined—Ceremony Explained—Participation of People in Ceremony

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY that was held before leaving on the hunt was, in effect, a summary of all the Pawnee religious beliefs and practices. In Pawnee ideology, the sky was one realm and the earth and the waters another. The priests were in charge of the cosmic ceremonies, and the medicine men, or doctors, were in charge of the animals that were connected with the earth and the waters. In this last category, the physical structure of man and his physical health were included. But ultimately, according to Pawnee thought, the sky was the first cause and the continuing source of power in both realms. The doctors conducted a separate cycle of ceremonies from the priests, and in the fall, at the gala ceremony that was held after the harvest was in, they acknowledged their celestial origin by hanging buffalo-hide cutouts of the Morning Star and the other sky gods from the ceiling of the ceremonial lodge. During the forthcoming summer hunt, a specially selected doctor would kill a buffalo bull and a cow to provide the skins for this purpose and another bull and cow to build up the images of their own special gods.

The central feature of the ceremony they would now conduct was the carrying of all the sacred objects to the stream, there washing them symbolically. Then the people would clean up the whole village and wash themselves in the stream. This great cleansing ritual was under the direction of the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the northeast of the semi-cardinal-direction bundles. In mythohistory this god was a sort of master

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of general ceremonial procedure. He was also the patron of knowledge as indicated in the star chart attached to his sacred bundle, and also patron of the knowledge of the earth and the waters and the doctors, who took care of this aspect of man's life. He controlled the coming of the night, the animals, and, particularly, the buffalo.

The Great Cleansing Ceremony was conducted under his tutelage twice a year just before going out on the hunt. It combined the symbolisms from both the celestial and the earth and water realms. In the creation ritual held after the first thunder in the spring, the systematic theology of the cosmos was given. The doctors also had a systematic ideology of their own. While many of their curing practices and behavior had much in common with other individual North American Indian shamans or medicine men, all their animal cults were organized into a unified association outside of which no one was able to practice lest he be accused of witchcraft operations. Traditionally, this was founded in the Pumpkin-Vine Village where all the men were doctors. This village was anciently supposed to have been associated with Village-Lying-across-a-Ridge. The association of the doctors was attributed to a single founder who experienced a series of visions that formed an integral system, paralleling in a sense the formation of the political federation of villages. The visionary had a series of visions in an animal lodge that was located under the water, where he learned the true nature of the animals and illusionist techniques of sleight of hand and other arts of suggestion as modes of curing and of influencing events. He was also taken over the country by the animals in his subsequent visions and taught the value of different roots and herbs. Eventually he invited a few other men to his house and shared the mysteries with them. After the harvest and the summer buffalo hunt, still others were invited and learned from these new doctors. They constructed little lodges of willows and cottonwoods inside the earth lodge, and to each the leader gave the skin of an animal that was to characterize his cult. Within his individual booth, the animal would instruct the new recruit in a dream. Then calling each in turn, the original visionary, through a process of hypnotic transfer, taught each head doctor the songs and dances of his special cult. Dressed in their animal-skin costumes, these men danced and were taught the arts of suggestion and sleight of hand. First they practiced hypnotizing one another and then, going out of the lodge, made a public display of their powers. After the ceremony they deposited in the water of the stream, the little lodges they had built and the images they had made. When they got home, they were told to hold their dances in winter and spring after the first thunder, but not to display their hypnotic and sleight-of-hand powers until the fall, when all had returned to the village after the summer hunt. A great public ceremony was to be held for the benefit of the people, lasting two or three

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months. Thereafter, whenever a man had an animal vision, he applied to the Doctor Association and was given a place in the lodge.

All during the summer hunt and the hard work of getting in the harvest that followed, the people looked forward with great anticipation to the elaborate performances that the doctors would put on all during the month of October. It was a Grand Opera with a connected series of episodes, combining animal mimes, displays of sleight of hand, and illusionist performances of different kinds, hypnotic acts, songs, and dances. In that summer the people contributed the dried meat of eighty buffalo to the Doctor Association for the forthcoming ceremony and in former times as many as 140 were given. This was one of the prime motivations for going on the hunt.

In the Great Cleansing Ceremony now to be held before departure, both the celestial and the doctors' symbolism was combined, one connected with crops and the other with the wild animals.

As soon as the chiefs had determined the date for the departure on the hunt, they notified the priest of the sacred bundle who was in charge for that season, and he in turn got in touch with the other four priests. They all came to his lodge, beating on their bundles to signify that they were now going to conduct a national ceremony. They took their appointed places at the west, putting their bundles down in front of them and sending the errand man to summon the other bundle keepers to come with their mats and food bowls. They spread their mats and sat in their traditional places, hanging their bundles on the wall behind them. They remained in the lodge for three days and nights, feasting and talking together. Meanwhile the four main priests went through the village calling on the people to bring gifts to Mother Corn. They were being asked to bring the clothes that would costume the chief who was to lead the procession when they took the sacred objects to the stream. Only men of sterling character were privileged to make such a contribution—those who were public spirited enough to initiate public ceremonies, were courageous in defense, volunteered frequently for public service, were generous in helping the less fortunate, did not harbor malice, did not engage in any kind of violence or loud conduct, did not gamble or indulge in sexual adventures in unsanctioned social categories. They were to bring a buffalo robe, moccasins, a buffalo-hair cord as a girdle, and dried buffalo meat and fat that had been consecrated on the previous buffalo hunt. The donors would paint themselves red, carrying their gift through the village for everyone to see as they took it to the ceremonial lodge. After the gift was presented, two messengers went through the village announcing the gift and publicly thanking the donor.

The actual ceremony in the lodge was performed on the fourth day after the bundle keepers had assembled there. Very early that morning

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Finally they had the formal procession in which all the sacred objects were carried down to the stream. The chief who was to lead the procession was called by the priest and dressed in the clothes that had just been donated. The sacred pipe from the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle was placed in his hands. The bundle keepers retrieved the sacred ears of corn from the "Garden" and placed them next to their bundles. A prominent warrior who had ownership rights to the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle led the main body of the procession bearing the star chart. Immediately following him were to be three men with quivers from the sacred bundles. These four sat near the entrance, lined up one behind the other, while arrangements were being made for the bearers of the rest of the objects. Meanwhile men from different villages had come in and seated themselves in front of their respective village bundles. Two men from each were selected to carry the "Mothers" or sacred ears of corn, others to carry the hawkskins symbolizing warriors and owlskins symbolizing chiefs that were also contained in the bundles. And last of all, the leading chief who was to head the procession went out and rounded up all the little boys he could find—an act signifying his watchfulness over the people. The little boys were given minor objects from the sacred bundles to carry, particularly the raccoon bones attached to the sticks with which meat was removed from the soup during the ceremonial banquets, or the arrowshafts used as pipe tampers and sticks to tend the fire.

Now there was a race to the river; the priests singing and shaking their gourd rattles while the objects were being given out. When they got to the fourth song, the warrior with the star chart jumped up and began to run toward the river as fast as he could, the quiver bearers close behind him. As they pushed out through the long entryway of the lodge, everyone tried to follow, and anyone who overtook the man with the star chart on the way to the river took it from him and ran on until he came to the bank where it was returned to him.

The crowd standing along the river bank now grouped itself into four symmetrical rows. In the first row, front center, was the warrior with his star chart. He was flanked on both sides by the men with quivers, who were in turn flanked by the men with the sacred ears of corn. In the second row were the men with hawkskins and owlskins. In the third row were people with less important bundle objects such as braids of sweetgrass usually burned as incense, buckskin pouches containing red, black, and white paints, pieces of enemy scalp, and other objects peculiar to the particular sacred bundle. Finally, bringing up the rear in the fourth row were the little boys with their raccoon bone forks, arrowshaft fire pokers, and pipe tampers.

The group now parted ranks. Down the middle came the chief carrying the sacred pipe to the water. He waded in and symbolically washed himself by dipping his right hand and then his left into the water, each

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796 783 798 time touching it to his mouth, nose, forehead, and down his face, alternately first with the right and then with the left hand. Then he went back through the group and stood facing the village ready to lead them back. The others followed suit, the men of first rank pretending to wash their objects and their bodies, then walking through the line to stand behind the chief and the others in order. The chief led them back to the village and the objects were replaced in the bundles in the ceremonial lodge. The little boys ran away at once, and the other men retrieved the robes they had left behind in order to race to the water before they went home. The priests and bundle keepers tied their things and had a meal of cornmeal mush that had been donated by one of the women. Then they all took their mats, pillows, bowls, and sacred bundles and went home.

796 783 [203] [515] [343] The town crier went through the town telling all the people to clean their lodges and the streets and to carry all the dirt far away. The next step was for everyone to wash and clean themselves. The priests who had led the ceremony had a sweat lodge built, and one of them stood outside shaking his rattle and singing. All the people assembled there and raced to the river as fast as they could go. They waited there for the priests who waded in and came out at once and went to their sweat lodge to take a steam bath. All the rest of the people—men, women, and children—stayed at the river, swimming and playing in the water.

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The tobacco was always mixed with the inner bark of the red dogwood (*Cornus amomum* Mill, pictured in Gilmore, 1919, plate 22.) The outer bark was removed and the fragrant inner bark scraped and dried for smoking, mixed with the tobacco. The red color of the bark appeared in winter. In 1867 the tobacco the Pawnees used was all gotten at the trade store, but in former times the men raised their own in specially prepared patches. The native tobacco, formerly cultivated by all the tribes of Nebraska was *Nicotiana quadrivalvus* Pursh. For the summer hunting expedition the men had to be sure to have plenty of tobacco in their pouches, and they took along the dogwood while it was still unripe so that it would cure along the way. A man would take a sackful about 1½ feet high and a foot in diameter included with their other supplies.

They had to be sure that the horse gear was all in order as much would depend upon it, particularly for packing the luggage. If a new saddle had to be made, they would have to scrape a deer hide and get a horn. A saddle for packing had to have four long rawhide strings, two in front and two in the rear, for tying on the packages. The packages that were tied to the sides of the horse were of standard size. They were large rawhide envelopes, 2½ feet long by 1½ feet wide and a foot deep, designed to hold the thinned and dried meat of a whole buffalo, but were also used to carry other types of luggage, particularly foods. The soundness of the rawhide straps on the saddle was vital as should these break while they were crossing the water, the food would be ruined. They checked the stirrups and provided themselves with plenty of rawhide rope for hobbling the horses.

For clothing, they had to take along blankets and some broadcloth for the women—possibly some dresses. Moccasins wore out frequently on the march. A sewing bag with sinew, awl, and moccasin patterns was an essential item of luggage.

Sacred objects had to be carefully carried and tended by the women. Sometimes a woman would carry the sacred bundle she was caring for on her back, and sometimes it would be placed on top of the other luggage on the horse. Depending on their particular tradition, some of the bundles had to be placed on top lying the long way and some lying across.

The bulkiest item was the food. This consisted of dried vegetables, dried buffalo meat, and some trade-store items—flour, baking powder, coffee, sugar, and dried prunes, apples, and peaches—all highly concentrated foods. These were included in the standard rawhide envelopes. The journey to the hunting grounds took about twenty days. By that time many of the vegetable foods were used up and the envelopes would now be available to pack the newly dried buffalo meat. The main vegetable provisions were dried kernels of corn that had been removed from the cobs. The corn was treated in two basic ways during the harvest: One batch was gathered early while still "in the milk" and the ears were

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Pipe trade relations. As the east party would have a prior advantage, he was leaving it open for Man Chief to take it for his own group. "All right," said Man Chief, "I'll take a group around east," and Curly Chief of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band said, "I'll go with him." White Eagle then agreed to take a group by way of the west and Many Trophies of the Man-Going-Downstream Band agreed to go with him. 224* 202

Having decided, the different chiefs motioned to their hunters waiting lined up below. In each case the individual hunters were free to join either party as they wished. The various hand motions made by the chiefs graphically indicated their plans. As each chief motioned, his brave went down to the hunters and again told them what the motions were about. The extra pack horses were hobbled right there and the boys taking care of them were nearby.

The next step was a ritual, performed by a holy man known as a "hand-waver," named for the manner in which he made his vow. White Eagle chose He-Sees-the-Sky because he had consecrated five or six buffalo to the sacred bundle ceremonies in the past and in general seemed to be lucky in whatever he did. He had established "credit" with the supernatural powers. Now he knelt down on both knees facing toward the hill with his back to the lineup of hunters. One of the men from the line was selected by White Eagle to keep watch on the holy man and signal them immediately when he was through. The watcher stood about ten feet back, leading his horse while the prophet was kneeling, settling himself comfortably with his open hands resting on his thighs. Now he extended his right arm and as he was moving it outward he said, "This time of year I sacrificed a whole white eagle and that is what is going to lead you (west)." Then he made a similar motion with his left hand and mentioned a wildcat hide and a whole buffalo and the fact that this would lead those going east. Then he repeated each direction with an Otter and Buffalo (west), and a young spotted deer and buffalo (east). The watcher, seeing the holy man's hands back in his lap and his head down, signaled that that was all and as soon as he turned around, the line formed into two parties, the watcher coming down to join them. The holy man started for home, being required to remain as quiet as possible so that nothing should disturb the good fortune of the hunters, for he would be blamed for any accidents that occurred. White Eagle or one of the successful hunters would see that he got half a buffalo for his service. The hunters rode to the chase from both sides of the hill so that the herd was surrounded and all were killed. Then they butchered and distributed the meat according to who had actually killed the animal and who had assisted with the butchering. 224* 788 792 [778] • 224* 792 224*

As soon as they were through butchering, they packed their horses and waited until they had a group of two of three so that they could travel together for protection from attack. The horses were lightly 224* 492

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east or any want to go west, just go ahead. There are lots of buffalo. 224*
As for me, I'm going right over the hill." Only those with the best horses could go right over the hill. One could see the buffalo in the distance here and there as they were coming up from the water to graze on the other side of the hill. Some of the Man-Going-Downstream Band decided to go eastward across Turkey Creek, even though the creek was muddy to cross, as there were many buffalo there and less hunters to attack them. The holy man, who had to remain still in order not to disturb the effect of his magic, sat at the base of the hill and waited. He could not go back to camp, since it would not be set up until the attack on the herd was over.

As soon as the signal was given, the hunters all rode to the chase. The herds were very scattered and had to be chased by men in small groups. In the past they chased the buffalo on foot and there was still a man, [147]
Charley Buffalo, who was such a fast runner that he could overtake a buffalo on foot and shoot him.

Now each hunter selected his own buffalo to chase, depending on his skill as a hunter and the speed of his horse. There was little value in trying to get more than one buffalo or at most two—though a good hunter could conceivably get more—as there was no help to be gotten with the butchering and he would not be able to haul in the extra meat in any case. A second animal might be consecrated to a sacred bundle, in which [178]
case as the hunter shot it he would say, "It is sacred!" The South Bands designated such a sacred animal by crossing its forelegs and tying them together as the animal lay on its back, then tying the hind legs, but the Skidi did not follow this practice. A man who had the misfortune to fall off his horse and could not get back on in time would be enlisted to help butcher and receive half an animal, although the ribs would not be given him at this time.

The chase was carefully timed to the habits of the buffalo. At this season the buffalo spent most of the time scattered about in the uplands [825]
where the buffalo grass was. (In winter they stayed closer together in the timber.) In the morning, the buffalo went down to the water and between ten-thirty and eleven o'clock they were back in the pasture grazing. At noon they were all sitting down resting and by evening had gone down to the water again before returning to the uplands.

The hunters usually lined up for the attack about ten-thirty in the morning and by eleven rode to the chase. Everywhere a cloud of dust would rise as they rushed forward except after a rain when big clods and mud would hit them in the face. They never hunted when it was [411]
actually raining, as the sinew bowstring stretched and was ineffectual when wet.

It was easy to tell which were the most desirable buffalo. Those with [825]
their bellies still swollen with water had been the last to get down to the

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bands were busy restraining the hunters from anticipating the attack of the group. The herd was very widely scattered over the land and they were coming up from the river to graze. They could not manage the usual surround, so the hunters dashed ahead over and around the several hills that lay between them and the herd.

Meanwhile the line of march had been holding back, proceeding very slowly so that they would not interfere with the hunt itself. When the men had completed their attack on the herd, the encampment was set up in the angle of the confluence of Cedar Creek and the Solomon.

The hunt having been successful under the leadership of Chief Many Trophies, an old priest of the Downstream Band came walking through the camps. He represented the tradition of the sacred bundle under whose auspices the hunt had been conducted. He wore a war bonnet with feathers all around his head, possibly symbolizing a comet, and around his waist a buffalo robe that hung down about his legs. In his right hand he held the sacred pipe and over his left arm he was carrying some breast meat and some fat. All along the way men and boys from the four bands were trailing after him.

When he stopped at the west of the encampment, everyone lined up. He placed the pipe against the meat and fat, then raised the latter up toward the west four times in offering. Just as he was about to put the meat and fat on the ground, the whole crowd pounced on it and tried to grab a piece of meat and fat to bless their homes. They grabbed from one another on all sides, with the little boys scampering out of the way for fear of getting hurt. The old man, meanwhile, picked up his pipe and went north around the camp to his own tent. The other two South Bands also had their special band bundles, the Asking-for-Meat Band had a very sacred Ant bundle, and the Little-Earth-Lodge Band, a Raccoon bundle.

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from where they were camping. "That's what we want," they said, and sat down to smoke together. They went close and saw a big lake. When they got to the Post Hunt Camp 3, about four in the afternoon, they went directly to the council tent and made their report. They said, "We went about ten miles from here." "Well, sit down. Have you good news?" "Yes, we have." "Errand man," said White Eagle, "go through the village and call grandpa Angry Horse and the other men of the village. Have them all come in. Three men came in with good news." After due ceremonies and greetings from the chiefs and important men the leader of the scouts described the place. He said, "The buffalo can't get away because the lake is in a valley between two steep hills and they must come for water." The older people recognize and know of the place. They refer to it as *ru-ti-wa-tatar-ariks*, "there-it-hill-down-standing." Now White Eagle, realizing that they were all thinking about the two who were killed by the Sioux, said, "What happened we must stop thinking of. Remember that we are still living. Here are these men. They have good news for us, for our tribe and for our women and children. I hope we will have no more such disasters. When a day comes and something like that happens we can't help it. Sometimes you may be walking along and just simply fall over. Remember, that's the way things are. But now we are still living."

A message was sent to Curly Chief of the Kitkehaxki and the other Bands and the announcement made through the Skidi encampment. They decided to attack the herd early in the morning at seven o'clock. Insofar as they could, they would chase the buffalo toward the camp. Now people were in a good mood and began to joke. They said that the three scouts probably had "scared eyes," *ti-kiriki-tiruut*, "it is-eyes-frightened." Perhaps they had seen *pakuts* grass and thought they were buffalo!

Early next morning they made the mass attack on the herd as planned. Back at camp, some of them left ribs at the council tent. Among the South Bands, when they leave ribs, they line up one behind the other and say bird names. Here and there in the different tents where there were sacred bundles someone would give consecrated meat and the priest would be called in to perform the ceremony.

Some people left meat and ribs at the Society of Lucky Children, *Pirskawaharu*, "child-lucky." They have no sacred bundle. They simply sit and recount lucky events that have happened to them or to their predecessors from whom they had inherited their place. The headquarters of this society was in the tent of Old-Lady-among-Queens, *Ts-tawi-ku*, "woman-among-sits," signifying that she always associates with queens or influential women. She had inherited the place from her grandmother. The Old-Man-That-Chief also belonged, and he conducted the proceedings. He tells of how the society came to be, though he says he only surmises—doesn't really know. He says, "One might be thinking, 'Luck,

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THE CEREMONIAL OBSERVANCE OF THE HARVEST

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Holy Significance of the Mother Corn—Pawnee Logic of the Universe—Three Harvest Ceremonies—Green Corn Ceremony—Mature Corn Ceremony—Four-Pole Ceremony—Ceremonial Rituals Explained—Symbolic Significance

243 778 To THE PAWNEE, the ear of corn was his daily food and also the object of his most profound reverence and worship. In every sacred bundle that represented the cosmic powers there were two ears of corn of an ancient breed, cultivated exclusively for its role as a holy object—their Mother [126] Corn. The leader of a war party that went afoot far out onto the Plains to capture horses and booty wore an ear of sacred corn on his left shoulder so that Mother Corn might guide them to victory. It was an ear that had served in a sacred bundle for one year from harvest to harvest. The calumet expedition for peace and trade with another tribe, besides the two symbolic eagle-feathered pipes, carried an ear of sacred corn representing the universe. It was painted blue around its bottom half with four blue lines leading up toward the point representing the semicardinal-direction pathways of prayer to Heaven, while on the point of the corn stood a single white feather to represent Heaven itself.

Each sacred ear of corn in the sacred bundle was sewn into a skin cover: the ear for winter in a tanned buffalo skin, and that for summer in a heart skin. At every meal the wife or sister of the chief in whose care the bundle was kept addressed each ear of corn by its own name to give thanks for the food they were about to enjoy. If it were buffalo meat they were having, she would point some of it toward the sacred bundle hanging at the west in order to give Mother Corn the first portion. When they ate corn it was of course not offered to her but the bowl of the spoon

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was pointed toward the nose of the buffalo skull that rested below on the altar platform, and a few kernels dropped there so that Father Buffalo might eat.

Few ceremonial acts of the Pawnee were so obscure that they could not be understood in terms of his "logic of the universe." A rhythm of alternation of cosmic powers was a very important phase of that logic. The winter and the summer, the night and the day, succeeded each other in a never-ending round. The powers of the south succeeded the powers of the north and the powers of the east followed those of the west. As these two rhythms were combined, the semicardinal directions ran their biennial course—northwest, southwest, northeast, southeast—and for each of these a sacred bundle took charge of the tribe in its turn through the alternate seasons. In many functions of his life, including the household, the Pawnees followed this alternating principle. As he valued these alternating rhythms of the universe, he also followed a pattern of rotation of power and responsibility in all phases of his life, particularly in his political life and in his appeal to the cosmos.

Three ceremonies celebrated the harvest, each representing a different aspect of the sacred tradition. The first for the *Green Corn* was under the Evening Star bundle that embodied the tradition of the original creation of the universe and its yearly renewal.

The second was the main harvest ceremony and was celebrated when the *Mature Corn* was gathered. It was under the authority of the four semicardinal-direction bundles that carried the theme of the progression of the seasons and the growth of the sacred corn into their major deity, Mother Corn.

The third ceremony celebrated the alliance of the Skidi villages in their political and religious life. Appropriately, it was conducted under the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person. This represented the cult of the visionary chief who in past times had gathered them all together and established their organization. It was known as the *Four-Pole Ceremony*—signifying the four semicardinal directions, which taken together, represented the whole world. In the course of the ceremony warriors went out symbolically in all directions to see that their land was safe.

The Pawnees had a marked preference for complex ceremonial symbolism, and each of these cosmic authorities had a somewhat variant "ceremonial vocabulary" that was systematically organized in the lore of its sacred bundle, which also contained the paraphernalia for its performance.

The ceremonial pattern of the green corn ceremony under the Evening Star bundle was ritually quite simple. No songs were sung by the priests and no dances carried out. When the people were getting ready to settle back in the village, the Evening Star priest called in the other four

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243 778 793 priests of the four direction bundles. They were representing the four aspects of the primordial storm given by Heaven to the Evening Star to assist her in the process of creation. The Evening Star priest also invited a number of noted warriors and old men and had a quantity of green corn cooked for their feast. The sacred bundle was opened and its pipe [276] smoked and shared with the Evening Star and the other great western [782] powers by pointing its mouthpiece toward the west and then in the same way with the other celestial gods who took part in the ongoing of the universe. The contents of the sacred bundle were passed through an incense of burning sweet grass smoke, and an offering of the corn was [574] made to the gods. Then the invited guests had their feast of green corn. After the Evening Star bundle had completed its ritual, all other sacred bundles followed suit, offering green corn to the bundles and having a corn feast.

243 778 776 The main harvest ceremony which centered around the Mature Corn was a continuation of the symbolic theme of the life cycle of Mother Corn carried by the four semicardinal-direction bundles. Its connection with the progression of the seasons was also part of the ritual pattern.

[793] In the spring, after the Evening Star priest had performed the creation ritual for the renewal of all things, the four direction priests began their ritual cycle in anticipation of the planting time by a ceremonial distribution of the seeds of the sacred corn to the twelve owners of the sacred bundles whose wives planted them in special hills in the fields. Pursuing the theme of seasonal succession, the four sacred bundles of the group took charge of their ritual in turn. For the winter season, a North bundle was in charge. At the ceremony when the sacred seeds were distributed, the North bundle gave over its sacred mission to one of the South bundles of the group. A number of cornstalks symbolized this transfer of power, and these were now handed from the North to the South bundle. After the ground-breaking ceremony which belonged to a different cult (Skull bundle—Evening Star), the second ceremony of the Four Direction series concerning the Mother Corn was carried out. In this case the birth, infancy, and adolescence of Mother Corn were symbolized by uprooting the new little shoots of the sacred corn plants and providing one of them with a shaft on which a mouth and windpipe were painted to represent its life. The Young Mother Corn had carried them through the summer attached to the outside of the sacred bundle. Now the maturing Mother Corn had attained her full power to look after the people. The ceremony of the Mature Corn represented her installation to this office. It was also the occasion when the four-direction-bundle group shifted the ceremonial prerogative from the South bundle to the North bundle for the forthcoming winter. Some of the cornstalks of the sacred corn from the current harvest were given to this bundle to signify its mission. In addition to the principle of the succession of winter and sum-

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mer seasons followed by the four-direction-bundle group, another principle of alternation of powers was carried through as a means of assuring complete cosmic protection. This was the alternation of the powers of the western and of the eastern skies in successive years. There was, therefore, a fourfold alternation of bundles in the four-direction-bundle group over a cycle of two years: North*west*-South*west* in one year, and North*east*-South*east* in the subsequent year. The west and east each dominated a year, while north and south moved in half-year seasonal cycles for winter and summer.

As they were returning from the summer buffalo hunt when they had gotten about half way home, the priest of the summer direction bundle had sent a young man to the sacred corn hill to make an offering to it of buffalo tongue and heart meat. He pressed alternately into the corn hill a strip of tongue and a strip of heart in the four semicardinal directions.

Now with the harvest in, the priest asked his wife to clear out their earth lodge so that the ceremony for the Mature Mother Corn could be held. The women removed all the beds and other furniture and swept it out well, and the priest took down the sacred bundle from where it had been hanging at the west and placed it on the altar. Before dawn he sent four men to the sacred corn hill in the fields to bring in four stalks of the holy corn with the ears still on them. In the course of the ceremony, these would replace the old Mother Corn ears in the sacred bundles. In this way the sacred bundles always contained some fertile seeds.

The priest now invited a number of other people to participate. He called the other four high priests—his three colleagues of the four-direction-bundle group and the Evening Star priest. He also called in the holy man who had taken office when the sacred seeds were distributed in the spring and who had lived under severe taboos from which he would only now be released. All summer while they were on the march, this holy man had been living under the watchful eye of the priest. Also invited was the young woman who had contributed milk from her breasts at the ceremony of the Young Corn Plant in order to symbolize conception and the other owners of the sacred bundles.

When everyone was assembled, all went down to the camps where the women had piled their mature corn and other crops. The priest announced that Mother Corn was about to be installed and asked them to bring their harvest offerings. They came with their best ears of corn, and as the women entered the ceremonial lodge they put the corn on the north side in piles according to the color. Any of the ears that had the male spike at the tip, a feature that was regularly found in the holy corn, might be included in the sacred bundle in the course of the ceremony that was to follow. The women also brought beans and squash for the

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243 778 776 793 [782] harvest offering. Then the women left the lodge and the ceremony was carried on entirely by the men. Now a man was sent to the sacred corn hill to uproot any stalks that remained there with the ears still on them. They were tied to the northwest post of the lodge, which symbolized the Garden of the Gods. When the new winter direction priest was installed at the end of the proceedings, he would receive these as a sign of his office.

The priest was now ready to conduct the ceremony. He sat at the west with his bundle open before him. He put aside the stick with the Young Mother Corn Plant tied to it that they had made in the spring and the two sacred ears in their respective wrappings. He also had before him the four new sacred ears that were brought in that morning. The new sacred ears had been cut with the first section of the stem left on to symbolize the windpipe and the voice of the Mother Corn which was the "breath of life." After singing four songs mentioning the different colors, black, red, yellow, and white for the semicardinal directions, he sang a fifth song and cut off the stem. Then he sang another song welcoming the new Mother Corn. He embraced the new ear, passing it to the other priests who were sitting to the south and to the north of him, and then passed it down the south side and then the north of the lodge, everyone in turn embracing the new Mother Corn. When the ear was returned to the priest, he sang a seventh song stating that the voice of the corn was raised to the heavens.

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[782] At the close of the songs, the pipe was filled and the mouthpiece pointed toward Mother Corn as an offering to share in the smoking. Then the ear was passed to the people on each side of the lodge and each person blew his breath on it four times, symbolizing its new life in the world.

The next symbolic act was to concentrate all the power in the world into Mother Corn herself. The priest took a buffalo-hair rope about a yard long from his sacred bundle. It was said to have been made of "hair from beneath the waters." Taking one of the new Mother Corn ears in each hand, he knelt before the altar holding the ends of the rope against the ears. Then moving his hands, he made the rope circle around into a loop to represent the horizon as it had circled out from the gods in the west during the original creation. He now made movements as if he were throwing the rope over objects and drawing them to his breast. This was spoken of as "trapping the powers of the Heavens" for Mother Corn and all the sacred objects.

The ears of sacred corn whose "lives had been ended" were now given over to a distinguished warrior, who would carry them on the warpath to guide him to success, or to the entrepreneur of the Peace Pipe Ceremony, who would carry them on his expedition to give him success in trade and international relations.

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With the installation of the New Mother Corn accomplished, steps were taken to shift the cosmic power to the North Direction bundle for the winter. The priest announced that the change was at hand, went to the northwest house post, and took down the sacred stalks that were tied there, giving them to the chief who was in charge of the newly appointed North Direction bundle. He addressed the chief briefly upon the import of the procedure and formally charged him with the office. The new chief replaced the stalks on the post and then divided the harvest offerings that the women had brought among the chiefs and priests present at the ceremony.

Following this ceremony, all the sacred bundles changed their ears of Mother Corn for those of the new harvest. This ceremony was conducted very simply in each case, the usual smoke and meat offerings being made to the appropriate powers and a feast shared. In all the sacred bundles the pipe was turned so that when the bundle hung on the west wall of the house over the altar the mouthpiece of the pipe would be pointing north, so that the winter powers located in that direction could smoke.

The Pawnee year opened in the spring with a ceremony celebrating the creation of the universe and within it the uniting of all the people under one religion and society. Now as the harvest was done, a closing ceremony commemorated their unity and the common defense of their land. The four house posts in the semicardinal positions symbolized the entire world and its peoples. It was under the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person and its four special ministers.

The setting for the ceremony was a special circular structure—a low circular embankment opening to the east. First the priests marked out the circle with a compass consisting of two sticks with a long string between; they also marked out the fireplace in the center in the same way. The fireplace was 3 feet in diameter and the excavated earth from it was dumped outside the east entrance to form a small mound. They dug four holes about a foot deep in the semicardinal positions within the circle to receive the posts that would be planted later on. All around the inside of the circular embankment saplings were set up in the ground, forming a screen that shaded the participants as they sat around during the ceremony. The chiefs who were the owners of the sacred bundles sat along the north and along the south side of the circle, each representing one of the villages that was a member of the original federation. Most of them sat on the north side, as the original villages were mainly on the Loup River, only one having come from the Platte to the south. At the west sat the keepers of the four direction bundles as they had originally come from Old Village in the west.

The ceremony itself comprised two major episodes. One was the getting of the four poles, a war party setting out in a different direction for

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their way and touched the tree as if it were an enemy, claiming war honors and stating that they were entering the territory of the enemy. Then they brought it inside.

While the war parties were out, the priests had prepared the postholes. In each they placed a cake of buffalo fat sprinkled with some tobacco, the fat representing the earth and the tobacco the people. A similar cake of fat sprinkled with tobacco was placed in the center of the fireplace. These cakes were then taken outside and buried under the little mound outside to the east of the enclosure.

As each war party came in with its pole, the priest of that semicardinal-direction bundle offered it the pipe to smoke and sang the song ritual while the warrior danced four times and planted the tree in the posthole. All the branches had been trimmed from the posts except the very top ones. The priests sang songs referring to the appropriate colors connected with the semicardinal directions and each post was painted its proper color.

The next phase of the ceremony was considered its most vital part. The chief who was keeper of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person now recited certain acts of the creation by Heaven. The skull, fastened to a stick, was costumed to represent Heaven as in the first episode of the ground-breaking (*awari*), ceremony in the spring. The paraphernalia for decorating the skull, including the paints, was kept inside the bundle in a bladder bag when not in use.

Another symbolic object was a wooden bowl filled with water to represent a primordial pond or the waters in general. In the water was a shell to represent running water and the continuity of life. On the shell was placed the jaw of a gar pike, the head of a (thunder?) bird and the image of a turtle, all symbolizing the denizens of the water and the rains. The skull rested to the west, and to the east of it the bowl of water with the objects connected by a framework of sticks on which the turtle was placed with a clamshell over his middle. There were four smooth stones that were either meteorites or buffalo maw stones which came from the sacred bundle of the former Village Partly-on-a-Hill. The turtle and the shell were from the Southwest Direction bundle. The four smooth stones stood for the four quarters of the world.

The chief who had charge of the Skull bundle now stood up with the skull in his hands and, facing the bowl, recited the acts of the creation that had been performed by Heaven. The main part of the ceremony was now complete.

During the following night there were additional dramatic acts. Certain doctors appeared dressed in the skins of bears, loons, wildcats, and wolves, each connected with one of the four semicardinal directions. During the creation, as the Morning Star went out to conquer the Evening Star, he had to overcome each of these primordial animals who were

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also aspects of the storm and who guarded her domain. They thus symbolized all war and conquest. Dressed in these skins, the doctors charged about the camp, symbolically fighting the people.

The final act of the priests was the "opening of the road to the enemies' country and to the buffalo." The chief who was keeper of the Skull bundle danced with the skull and made certain movements with the skull in the four directions in turn as the priests sang the appropriate songs. Then with loud shouting the people joined in the dance. The way was now ceremonially open for war parties to set out and for the chiefs to make plans for the tribal migration and buffalo hunt for the winter season.

Now everyone moved back into their houses, stored their crops and buffalo meat from the summer hunt, and awaited the time they had all been looking forward to for so long—the thirty-day Grand Opera of the Wild Animal Cults that would be put on by the Doctors' Association. But first the crops and meat had to be stored in the food pit and everything connected with the harvest put in good order.

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brought. She yelled, "Take that away!" "He's all right," said Fox Chief, "You people are foolish." "But he'll bite someone if you set him free in the village," said his wife. "No, he knows we live here. He'll go straight off to that rocky place over there." Then he released the snake and the snake went directly away without disturbing anyone. And so I lost my chance to learn—by not believing.

This story, told in Oklahoma in 1936, sixty years later, was sincerely believed.

With this confident knowledge of the herbs and roots connected with it, the doctors did cure the sick, combining what must have been some empirical observation of physical efficacy with personal influence and suggestion. It was this latter aspect that was the subject of their ceremony at this time and an affirmation of their faith in their calling.

Last of all they had to get the cedar tree that would stand just outside the Bear Booth to the west of its entrance. The bear and the cedar were associated together, and both belonged to the northeast direction. Their celestial affiliation was with the sun and moon. All the trees that were used in setting up the Doctor Lodge were brought in with a great deal of ceremony. The six cottonwood trees that had been used to build the animal booths symbolized the beaver, and the waters and were consecrated accordingly. To get the cedar, twenty doctors set out before sunrise for the Loup River where the cedar tree had been located the day before. The leader of the party carried a bearhide rattle.

On the return journey, they stopped halfway and practiced hypnotism on one another. The doctors who had remained behind in the lodge would try to prevent the incoming party from entering the village. One of the doctors was stationed at the top of the lodge to sight them as they were returning. The incoming party stopped in the timber and painted themselves so that they could rehearse in order to "put on a good show for the people of the village." They were sighted approaching from the southwest by the doctors in the lodge who went south through the village to meet them as they were about to enter and managed hypnotically to drive them back. The leader of the incoming party was sounding his bearhide rattle and the people climbed onto the roofs of their lodges to watch. The approaching party dropped the cedar, and, in their hypnotized condition some began to impersonate wolves, some deer, all imitating the motions of the different animals. As they came, one of the deer tumbled over, and the wolves tumbled on their noses and lay there kicking. Then they got up looked around dazed as they recovered from their trance. People came and threw offerings of calico and black handkerchiefs on the cedar tree as it lay on the ground.

Inside the lodge, Big Doctor stood ready to receive the cedar tree which was ceremonially treated and set down east of the fireplace while

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him around a little bit." "Oh, I got on him like a horse. He's a good runner." 756 796

By this time the Bear leader, Angry Horse, was all crumpled up and quieted down. Standing at the west of the fireplace facing east, he warmed his rock over the fire and then went to his seat near the Bear Booth at the northeast of the Doctor Lodge. There he removed his whole costume, including the cedar wreath, leaving only his blackened face. Now the two ex-Bears, Man Chief and Fox Chief, also came out of the booth without their Bear costumes. Man Chief went to the north of the fireplace, extending his right hand over the fire, then putting it on top of his head. Then he did the same with his left hand. He went through the same procedure with his abdomen and also his knees as he stood up. At the south of the fireplace, Fox Chief did the same thing. Now both men returned to their Bear Booth, Man Chief directly from his station at the north and Fox Chief from his south station around the west and north. 536

This was the closing act of the whole show, and now Big Doctor made his final address to them all. He said, "Now spectators, young men, women, now you have seen, during these several nights, this, 'our playing.' Young men, tribespeople, now I am through with this playing of. ours." (He included the audience as well as the doctors in his statement, expressed through the grammatical first person, plural inclusive form, *ti-wi-rikuhuritsa-witsat*, "this-now-it us all-complete." He thus acknowledged the help of the spectators in examining the paraphernalia when offered to them to affirm that they were authentic.) "Now that's all." This was the signal for all spectators to leave.

That night the doctors would take the first step toward dismantling the ceremonial appointments of the lodge. Each of the doctors would bundle up the sacred objects he had used in carrying out his performance and wrap them in a skin cover to form a long-shaped bundle. These must be taken to their respective homes that evening. The four doctors at the west would wrap up everything pertaining to the Doctor Lodge in general—the loons and other birds, etc. That night only the four leading doctors would remain in the lodge, sending home their bundles with the errand men. 756 796 346 778

Very early next morning all the doctors would return so that they could remove and dismantle all the special ceremonial figures and structures they had built. Insofar as possible these would be carried intact to the water where they would be deposited in a certain position, approximating their position in the ceremonial lodge. The serpent figure, the witch woman, and the cedar would be carried out as they were and the sticks of the booths used to make them into a booth in the bottom of the creek. While the Bear ceremony was going on, some men had been delegated to find a suitable place for this. 756 796 778 532

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DISMANTLING THE CEREMONIAL DOCTOR LODGE

Ceremonial Objects Are Dismantled—All Things Carried to Creek—Serpent Placed in Water within Curved Fence—an Additional Hypnotic Contest—a Banquet Given—the Final Details Settled

THE FINAL PHASE of the Doctor Lodge was the removal of the figures they had built and the animal booths. All these things had to be deposited at the bottom of Beaver Creek in an appropriate order and fastened in place. It took about a hundred people, including the sixty doctors, to do this work. For the final banquet that they would share, they used six or seven containers of dried buffalo meat and an equal number of buckets of corn.

The night before, while the Bear ceremonial had been going on, a number of men were sent to choose the place in Beaver Creek where they would set up their things.

During the ceremony and as the figures were being carried out, people offered them gifts. These were placed in the water with the figures. Once, while the performance was going on, a woman made up her mind to give a gift to the serpent on behalf of her son. She took a piece of calico and as she entered the lodge, opened up the cloth and dragged it across the floor, placing it on the inside of the serpent's neck. The errand man came over and took the calico to one of the four doctors at the west. The doctor set the material aside and came directly to where the woman was standing, walking along the outside of the serpent and jumping over it to where the woman was standing. Now he said, "You have a boy. Maybe someday he will grow up to be a big man and everybody will notice him." The woman left and the doctor returned to his seat.

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When the doctors got in that morning, they detached the figures so that they could be carried to the water. The serpent went first. It was simply pegged to the ground and was freed by pulling up the pegs. The men ranged themselves along both sides of the 60-foot length—the head being pointed conveniently southeast toward the exit. The men waited, ready to lift it up when the signal was given. The witch woman was lifted up and set down on a spread of tanned hide so that they could carry her out on it. The turtle that had been modeled on the fireplace, was crumbled up and also placed on a skin spread.

It took a lot of men to carry out the cedar gently, as it was loaded with gifts that had been placed on it when it was first brought into the lodge. The birds and cutouts suspended from the rafters were left there, because they did not belong in the water. After everything else had been detached, the sticks of the animal booths had to be uprooted, and any woman that wanted to help would carry these things out.

Now the process got under way with the four main doctors leading. Most of the men were dressed only in their breechcloths, although some doctors were foolish enough to wear their buffalo robes and to carry their eagle-wing fans despite the strenuous work they had to do. They made two stops along the way to rest—one about halfway toward their destination and then another one further along. The four doctors had gone ahead and were already in the water, building, out of sticks from the doctor booths standing upright in the bed of the creek, a kind of curved fence open at the east. This was the beginning of a whole structure that would enclose all the objects.

As the serpent lay along the shore waiting to be deposited in the water, people came up and made offerings to it. One person who hoped for long life said, "I give you this. I hope to see you this way a year from now." A mother, giving a gift on behalf of her son said, "I hope to see my boy grow up and be a great man." A mother hoped her two daughters would grow up to be married and have many children. Each girl carried a gift of calico to give and the mother said, "You, serpent, are going to rest here under the water. I want my children to grow up and have many children when they get married." Some people thought the serpent should be identified as a whale and some as an alligator. The latter seems the more likely from the word for it, "dry-tongue." The forked tail somewhat interferes with this latter identification. In this instance the mother was thinking of the fecundity of fish who have many eggs which hatch in large numbers.

Now they placed the serpent in the water, its head resting inside the curved fence the doctors had prepared. The head was pointing upstream (westward) the direction in which all the fish swim. The body extended eastward or downstream. Everyone got into the water and pegged the serpent and its various gifts to the bed of the stream. All the gifts of goods—

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calico, shawls, and blankets—were also fastened to the bottom. The whole thing was encased in a wicker frame of willows under the water. The stakes from the doctor booths were stuck all along the sides of the serpent and bent over across it and interlaced at the top.

Now that the objects were all in the water, the people stepped aside to permit the doctors to engage in one more hypnotic contest. One after the other, as they stood by the water, they caused one another to fall in.

Then the whole group of doctors and any others who had given them assistance repaired to the Doctor Lodge for the banquet. The lodge was empty and they could make a big circle sitting close to the outside walls. The groups of doctors were ranged in from the west. Beyond them along the sides were the general public who had helped them. And last of all to the east were the chiefs, two each from the four Skidi villages. Furthest toward the door of the guests, were two old men, That-Chief at the southeast and Good Land at the northeast. Finally there was one errand man stationed at each side of the entrance. As they were assembled there, some of the people expressed regret that the whole thing was over, for they had had such a good time.

It took eight people to prepare and serve the meal including the two regular errand men. Each of these was provided with an assistant to do the cooking and serving. They had to borrow two of the largest brass kettles they could get, and after they got the water they put in the meat and set them to boil, one at the northeast and one at the southeast of the fire. While the meat was cooking, the donated corn was served after the appropriate offerings had been made, then soup and then the meat. Extra large pieces were set aside for the guests of honor and one for "the house" —that is, for Sitting Hawk's wife to whom the lodge belonged.

During the meal the doctors made conversation about the happenings of the morning—about what had occurred at the river, and so forth. Then Big Doctor made his closing speech, addressing them all. He said, "Now young doctors, doctors, and all members of the Doctor Lodge and the animals that we have imitated here, and you chiefs sitting here watching over your people, and Heaven that has taken pity on us so that we could successfully complete our performance, and you head doctors here who have helped carry out our performance, now we have had our feast—now the Doctor Lodge is over."

A number of business details remained to be attended to. The head doctors had to apportion the meat that they had kept for the final arrangements. The owners of the house would have to fill in all the holes and set up the beds and then entertain the members of the families among whom they had been staying while the lodge was in session. They would need a quantity of dried meat for this. What was left would be divided

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THE COUNCIL TENT

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Ceremonial Observances of the Hunt—the Meat Is Delivered—a More Informal Procedure Than the Summer Hunt—Police Chosen—Four Official Scouts Chosen Also—the Hunt

*224 • 778 [625] EVERYONE KNEW THAT the council tent would be set up at Turkey Creek while the men were out attacking the herd, and that that evening the special police would be appointed to take charge during the subsequent attacks. During the summer, with White Eagle in the lead, the hunt had been conducted under the religious sponsorship of his left hand bundle, whose tradition was a special form of the creation legend. The present hunt was being carried on under the auspices of the Evening Star and its sacred bundle, which was also known as Yellow Calf. Its tradition was the official creation legend of the Skidi Federation. The "keeper" of this [794] bundle was Old Lady Lucky Leader of Pumpkin-Vine Village and she was assisted by her son, Frank Leader (also known as Dog-at-the-West), and her son-in-law, Roaming Leader. The old lady had built a particu- [344] larly large tent but even then only about thirty could gather in there at a time.

*224 793 As soon as the tent was set up and while the men were still off chasing the herd, the five priests came in and sat down at the west. Due west was Heavy Trophies, the head priest. To his left on the north side were Pipe Offering and Bringing Horses. To his right on the south side were Angry Horse and then Wonderful Old Bull.

*224 793 869 On this occasion, Bringing Horses was sitting as an apprentice priest. From time to time the head priest would say, "If there is anyone in this room who wants to learn, he should come closer and sit with us. It is necessary that someone should do this as we are likely to die at any time. We are old and after we die, the world will go on and on and this is the word of Heaven and should be carried on after we are gone. Anyone

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They decided to build a fire outside and proceed with it there. The contributions of ribs were apt to be light at this time, possibly only four sets.

The guests at the council were representatives of each of the four Skidi villages. They included the leading chief and a subchief from each and their respective braves. The head chiefs of each of the villages sat in their usual semicardinal positions with their subchiefs and braves ranged inward toward the north and south. This made sixteen official delegates from the villages.

The head priest now addressed the assembled company, mentioning each of the chiefs and villages and stating that they were to make this tent their administrative headquarters. He also pointed out that while in summer they selected their hunt police from the military societies, during the winter the societies were suspended and they would simply choose the police from among the braves present without benefit of the symbolic lances and belt of the societies. He mentioned that the hunt was under the aegis of the "Yellow Tent," still another name for the Evening Star bundle.

Lone Chief took over greeting the priests and others and stating he was going to choose the police from among the braves. He now chose War Cry (of Pumpkin-Vine Village) to be head policeman, and then from the other three villages, Shot Arm, Strikes-the-Enemy and Leading-Downhill. Each of these would choose his own deputy. The head priest now officially assigned the conduct of the rest of the meeting to Lone Chief. The ribs were served under his direction and when a second helping was carried around, a number of the men gave theirs to the boy Might-Be-Chief, who went home with his arms loaded with buffalo ribs.

The meal over, the official police belt was hung up tied to the south pole of the tent, south of the Evening Star bundle, and the head policeman War Cry would wear it when he was on duty. There were sleigh bells for each of the other three official policemen so that they could make themselves heard as they went through the camp warning people to be quiet. Everyone knew that they should not linger as the family of Old Lady Lucky Leader had to get their meat sliced in the tent, and so as soon as they had eaten, Lone Chief said the customary "Now we have eaten," and everyone got up directly and left.

Women were not permitted at council meetings or ceremonies, and the old lady and her daughter had gone elsewhere as soon as the council was in session. Now they came back in and the two women and Frank and Roaming Leader got to work slicing and drying their meat as fast as they could. They might have to work a good part of the night.

The priests had appointed four official scouts and they were out very early the next morning going west along the north side of the Republican. When they looked across to the south bank, they saw a certain kind of

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They had made two killings already and still the buffalo were coming. Eagle Chief stated that the next day they would not go out, but simply keep an eye on the herd as there was so much meat in the camp that they had to give it a chance to dry. He also mentioned that the hides should be treated and thinned down. Some of the old men remarked that this was a good time to make bone grease by boiling the bones and skimming off the fat as there were lots of bones about at this time and the grease would harden easily in the cold weather. Almost all the old women in camp would busy themselves with this work, storing the grease in a paunch. Some would make dried intestines and dried and braided strips of stomach (*pararitskusu*).

They made five killings while they were camped at Many Deer and along with the killing at Turkey Creek, they felt that this was enough and they should turn toward home. They had made killings almost every other day and stayed about fifteen days. Victory Call killed six in all and Horse Rider five.

Now that they were considering turning back, they must decide what donations of buffalo meat were to be pledged for the sacred bundle ceremonies in the spring. Each sacred bundle must have at least one *rarahuru*, a parfleche containing the dried meat of a whole buffalo. The different doctor cults also needed pledges of meat for their spring renewal rites, but they simply needed backbone steaks. For example, the two leaders of the Bear Cult reserved two steaks for their cult. Victory Call set aside one steak for his Deer or Whistle Dance and one for the Bear Cult.

There were twelve major sacred bundles, each of which had to be provided for with a parfleche of dried meat. The Evening Star bundle owned by Old Lady Lucky Leader would be provided for by her son Frank Leader in some years, and by her son-in-law Roaming Leader in others, according to the circumstances of the kill on a particular hunt. Lone Chief and Shot Arm alternated in this way for the Morning Star bundle. War Cry and his younger brother Brave Shield alternated in supplying the meat for War Cry's war bundle (*karaxkata karusu*) that had been derived from the Evening Star bundle, etc.

Everyone was interested in the news of how the donations had gone and Eagle Chief sent out his errand man Know-His-Face to find out at the different tipis where the sacred bundles were kept.

Sometimes a man couldn't manage to get a good buffalo for his bundle. He approached a man who had just killed a fat cow and said, "I want you to take pity on me. I have a sacred bundle and I want to make *rarahuru* [a parfleche of meat]." "Go ahead, take it," said the hunter, and went off, leaving the bundle owner to butcher the sacred buffalo himself. When he got home with the meat he told his wife, "*ra-waruksti-ti*" ("one

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that is-sacred-it is"). Then she would know that it is to be preserved, but not eaten by the family—except possibly only some very inferior part like the leg.

One of the main sacred bundles was owned by Misery—the Elk (*Arikariki*) bundle—and some of his friends were concerned since he had remained on Grand Island and they thought he might not get the necessary buffalo meat to hold the ceremony. There were three of them and Bringing Horses who had a good horse agreed to get the necessary buffalo for the purpose. He and the two other friends, Running Scout and Blue Hawk, made up their minds to ride together back to Grand Island as soon as possible to reassure Misery that his Elk bundle was taken care of. Such a group of three men could arrive at Grand Island in a day from their camp on the Republican while it took the pack train at least seven days to get there. The men would take a diagonal course across the country and avoid stopping at Fort Kearney, but it was still a strenuous journey and took a whole day of hard fast riding until evening. When they came to ride downhill crossing the hills, they had to proceed cautiously as the ground was slippery.

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Hearing of their plans, Eagle Chief wanted to send a message to Sitting Hawk, one of the main chiefs who had remained on the island. He delegated Running Scout who was one of the three men, to carry back the news. He especially stated that "with the consecrated meat, it is this way: there are twelve parfleches, one for each sacred bundle." When the three men arrived at Grand Island that night they went straight to Sitting Hawk's tipi. As the three men came in one after another, Misery, Sitting Hawk's son, was surprised. He said, "Kira, what's up?" "Well, we started from this side of Many Deer early this morning and just got here tonight." As soon as he heard this, Advance Scout went through the camp calling out, "The three hunters (*parisu*) are here. There is lots of meat. There are twelve consecrated parfleches for the sacred bundles."

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5, 79 James R. Murie, 1914, pp. 550-551, lists the names of thirteen villages, each of which he states had a sacred bundle, excepting the thirteenth, *Turawiu*, which was part of a village. The village names are:

1) *Turikaku* (Center Village), Evening Star bundle
2) *Kitkehaxpakuxtu* (Old Village), the four semicardinal direction bundles
3) *Tuhitspiat* (Stretching-Out-in-the-Bottomlands)
4) *Tukitskita* (Village-on-Branch-of-a-River)
5) *Tuwahukasa* (Village-Stretching-across-a-Hill), the Morning Star bundle (This bundle was divided into two.)
6) *Arikararikutsu* (Big-Antlered-Elk-Standing)
7) *Arikarariki* (Small-Antlered-Elk-Standing)
8) *Tuhutsaku* (Village-in-a-Ravine), the left hand bundle (All use left hands in the ceremony.)
9) *Tuwarakaku* (Village-in-Thick-Timber)
10) *Akapaxtsawa* (Buffalo-Skull-Painted-on-Tipi), Black Star bundle
11) *Tskisarikus* (Fish-Hawk) (Bundle buried with White Hawk.)
12) *Tstiks-kaatit* (Black-Ear-of-Corn), meaning corn-black
13) *Turawiu*, part of a village.

These were the known member villages of the Skidi political federation. According to tradition, two villages did not join—Pahukstatu (Pumpkin-Vine) and Tskiririra (Wolf-Standing-in-Water). These two villages survived into the time of our narrative together with only two of the other thirteen, numbers 3 and 5, Tuhitspiat and Tuwahukasa. Tu- is the prefix signifying village or settlement; eight of Murie's thirteen are village names, seven of them beginning with this prefix and indicating a location, the eighth, number 2, meaning Old-Earth-Lodge Village. Four are animal names, and one, a corn name.

5 In the article by Levy and Fallers, 1959, the authors comment on departures from our working model of the "nuclear" or "biological" family, questioning whether it is in fact as basic as we assume. I suggest that our working model of family life stems from the Adam and Eve story and that of the Pawnee from their interpretation of the cosmos and the nature of human life which derives from it. This fundamental difference in our viewpoints does not depend on an ignorance on the part of the Pawnees of the basic fact of physiological paternity. They believed that conception took place as a result of the combination of a male and a female substance similar to egg white in consistency—red in the case of the female and white in that of the male.

52 The "worm" love song adapted from Dunbar, 1881, p. 745

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

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80 On the ownership of the sacred bundles: The Evening Star bundle is in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City; also the Skull bundle. At the Chicago Museum of Natural History is the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast Four-Direction bundle with the star chart (*riwirutsaku*, round-package) attached to it; also in the Chicago Museum is the Elk bundle, *arikarariki*. The Morning Star bundle is privately owned.

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80 Dorsey, 1904a, p. 331, note 24, makes the distinction between dream and vision. Vision is to "learn by being touched when the individual is awake or is in a trance, brought about by fasting or self-imposed hypnotism. Thus in a group of priests sitting in silence in a ceremony, one of them may in a vision see clearly some god or supernatural being and hold converse with it, while the other priests present are not aware of the presence of supernatural beings." The Pawnee made a clear distinction between hysteria as a source of vision and a vision of creative imagination. An example is the young man, Yellow Calf, who saw a deer woman whose charms he was unable to resist although his vision had dissolved. His problem was resolved by his marriage to an older medicine woman, Old Lady Tsitawa, leader of the Deer Medicine Lodge in the Doctor Association. In general it was prescribed that when someone is seen wildly coming out of the woods, they be immersed in water to bring them out of it.

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80 The spirits of the dead priests are thought to be contained within the gourd rattles, symbolized particularly by the pebbles they contained.

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83 Compare in Whorf, 1939, p. 670, the five suns listed—water, jaguar, rain, wind, and ollin—and the remarks on each with the Pawnee creation story in view of the tradition of the four direction villages, their leadership in ceremonialism, the star chart attached to one of the bundles, and other cosmic references. Note in the Whorf reference that it is stated that in the year 752, the Toltecs set up King Mixcoatmazatzin who began the Toltec kingdom. In Ceacatl 843 Quetzalcoatl was born. In five house the Toltec retain him in the country and make him their king and priest. Quetzalcoatl built a fourfold group of buildings where he and others prayed and fasted, conducted skilled work in precious stones and held religious rites. It was a celestial and astronomical cult with stellar and solar deities. Far-fetched as it may seem, Pawnee ideology appears to embody a faint echo of such conceptions. Certain elements in J. Eric Thompson's, *The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization* (1956) contain some tantalizing parallels. For example: "The sky was sustained by four Bacabs who stood at four sides of the world. More general, of course, is the association of the colors with the directions. In Pawnee mythology, the storm that accomplishes the creation

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